



Masaniello
The
Fisherman of Naples

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SURPRIZING RISE
AND
SUDDEN FALL
OF
MASANIELLO,

The Fisherman of NAPLES,

Who in the Space of Four Days raised
150,000 People in Arms; and in
Two Days more made himself Go-
vernour, or King of *Naples.*

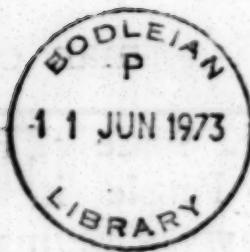
CONTAINING

Very exact and impartial Accounts of the
whole Tumults and Insurrections that hap-
pened there in the Month of July 1647,
by Reason of the Tax laid upon Fruit, and
other burthensome Taxes.

O X F O R D:

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ГИДРОГЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО
ДЕПАРТАМЕНТА





T H E P R E F A C E.

I N the ensuing History of Manciello, we may see plainly, as in a Glass, the natural Consequences of Oppression and Ministerial Tyranny. The common People have their Senses and Feeling as well as their Governors ; and if they are loaded with Burdens too heavy for their Strength to support, who can blame them for endeavouring to relieve themselves in the best Manner they are able ? And who can wonder, if in struggling for their Liberties, the greatest Outrages are committed, and even the Foundations of Government are shaken ? Oppression, the Scripture says, will make a wise Man mad : What Effect then will it have upon a giddy Multitude, who are sensible to nothing but their present Feeling, and who, at such a Juncture,

Juncture, will submit themselves to the Direction of any Fellow, who has Courage and Spirit enough to lead them on to revenge themselves on their Oppressors? Had the Spanish Viceroy of Naples and his Ministers, instead of fleecing the People by all Manner of Taxes to support their Luxury and enrich themselves, studied the Good of the Community, and the Interest of their Sovereign, we should never have heard of the Neapolitan Insurrection, and Masaniello would have remained an obscure Fisherman.

This Work has been compiled with great Care and Industry from Giraffy, the Count of Modena, Midon, the Author of the Winter's Evening Entertainment, and all the Authors who have wrote on that Subject; as also from several authentick Records which have not before appeared in print: And particular Care has been taken to purge this Edition from the Errors and Extravagancies of all former Impressions.

In vain may we search the Records of Antiquity, to find an Instance parallel to this of Masaniello, who, tho' only a poor Fisherman, in four Days raised an Army of 150,000 Men; by which Force he exalted himself from this abject State to the Pitch of Monarchy; made himself Master of the City of Naples, one of the most populous Cities in the World, and the Metropolis of many fair and extensive Provinces; was for a Time the Avenger of publick Oppressions,

sions, the Saviour of his desolate Country, and the Dread of the Spaniards.

The History of this ridiculous Monarch is so extraordinary, that future Ages will scarce give Credit thereto; for, tho' he trampled barefoot on his Throne, and instead of a Diadem wore a Mariner's Cap, yet it may be averred without Excess, that during his short-lived, but stupendous Reign, the most formidable Tyrant upon Earth was not more dreaded, nor his Orders more readily obey'd: To the Commands of Masaniello there was no Reply; his Decrees were without Repeal; and the Destiny of Naples seemed to depend on his Smile or Frown.

Many extraordinary Heats and Commotions have happened of late, and great Flames have been kindled by a small Spark; a Rebellion was raised in Scotland by so inconsiderable a Number of People, that for some Time we scarce knew whether it was worth our serious Consideration or not; yet at length it became so formidable, that it was unhappily attended with the Loss of great Numbers of brave and useful Men, before Tranquillity could be restored to the Nation: Another Insurrection has since happened at Genoa, in which the Austrian Forces were driven away with great Slaughter, tho' they had an able General at their Head; and tho' this was in a great Measure done by the Populace, yet both these Insurrections were Schemes laid by

one of the most formidable Powers in Europe, and were by her supported: Therefore they are far from being so extraordinary in themselves, had they been attended with the same Success, as that raised by this poor Fisherman, who made himself supreme Governor of the Neapolitans and that without Ally or Counsel.



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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
MASANIELLO,
T H E
Fisherman of *NAPLES.*

TH E ancient kingdom of Naples, after many changes and revolutions, submitted to the power of the house of Austria. The Neapolitans were a great support to this illustrious family, and by large and voluntary contributions, gave the utmost evidence of fidelity and obedience to it. They relieved Alphonso I. by a free imposition of ten * carlines upon every fire, thro' the whole territory; five carlines were added and settled upon Ferdinand and his successors for ever; and by degrees the tax was raised to sixty-six carlines, which is paid to this day, and amounts to three millions of gold yearly. Nor was this sufficient to express their affection to the Austrian line; for they supplied Charles V. with ten donatives that came to five millions. Philip II. was presented with thirty-three donatives, amounting to thirty millions; and Philip III. and IV. were assisted from the year 1628, to the Year 1647, with one hundred millions and upwards. But the people suffered by the generosity of their governors; they were oppressed with heavy exactions; and at last all commodities were taxed to raise these subsidies; the necessary provisions for the support of

* A Carline is worth about six-pence farthing of our money.

life grew dear, and occasioned popular discontents, which at length were so inflamed, that tumults and insurrections followed, attended with murder and bloodshed, and such other outrages as are the natural consequences of popular fury and distraction.

His majesty king Philip IV. of Spain was very sensible of the affections of the Neapolitans, who, without considering the weakness and inability of the people, resolved to present him with a new donative: but all commodities being already taxed, it was difficult to raise the extraordinary supplies which were demanded in the year 1646, therefore they were obliged in the present necessity to lay a tax upon fruits: all sorts were included, both dry and green; as mulberries, grapes, figgs, apples, pears, and plumbis; whereby the common sort of people were deprived of their usual nourishment and support, and reduced to the lowest misery and distress. This tax was collected with severity for nine months; but it grew at last insupportable; insomuch, that many poor wretches having sold all their household stuff, even the very beds they used to lie upon, to pay part of the tax, were often obliged to prostitute their wives and daughters to the ministers of the taxes, only to obtain a short respite for the payment of the remainder: the kingdom, therefore, resolved to bear the burden no longer, and to discharge herself not only of this, but of all other taxes formerly imposed; and the design had success beyond expectation. Nature has certainly fixed strong impressions of liberty in the minds of men: they are unwilling to bring their necks under the yoke; and tho' they are used with moderation and tenderness, they are scarce confined within the bounds of obedience; but slavery and oppression make them mad; and poverty begets despair; so that Tacitus observed justly, that the people rush upon precipices and destruction, when heavy loads and exactions are laid upon them.

The royal city of Naples is full of people, and many families were undone by the weight of taxes; but this tax upon fruit was the greatest grievance, and they resolved not to endure it. They had often by their agents, represented the hardships of this act, to the most excellent duke of Arcos, Viceroy of the kingdom; the women and children

children wou'd often meet him in the street, and with miserable cries and lamentations beg of him to release the tax, and the citizens of Lavinaro, and other quarters, placed themselves in companies as he passed upon a day thro' the market-place, to pay his devotion to the mother of Carmine, at the church of the Carmelites, and petitioned him in a body, to remit the tax. The viceroy seeing himself surrounded by such a multitude of men, women and children, who with uplifted hands, begged relief, was forced to appease them by stopping his coach, and promising that in a day or two he would give them satisfaction. Upon the Sunday following, as he was going to the church aforesaid, he observed a great disorder and murmuring among the people; who did not petition him as before, but peremptorily demanded a release of the tax, and threatened him in case of denial: these were pre-fages of the commotions which followed. The Viceroy was so terrified, that he promised to take off the tax, and returned with such apprehensions of fear to his palace, that he would venture no more to go to the church of Carmine, and would not suffer the festival of St. John the baptist to be celebrated, which us'd to be solemnised at Naples; and this he did, to prevent any disturbance that might arise from so vast a concourse of people, when got together in one place.

Some time after, father Don Stephano Pepa, one of the most famous preachers of the order of Theatins, who had several congregations under his care; by means of which, his influence was great over the people, assured the viceroy, in a private conference he had with him, that he could perceive by the confessions that were made to him, that they were exasperated to a very high degree; especially by the fruit-tax, which seem'd to be levelled at the poor people alone; whereas all former taxes and impositions were equally born by all the several members of the state: he told his excellency, 'twas to be feared that these complaints were the fore-runners of an insurrection; and therefore prayed him to abolish the tax upon fruit, telling him, that he made no question, but as soon as the people should be eased of this burden, they would return to their former duty and obedience.

Yet, notwithstanding this wholesome advice, the viceroy, who was naturally indolent, and unfixed in his resolutions, neglected doing any thing in this affair, thinking it would drop of itself: but he was greatly mistaken; for the populace, enraged, that the tax, contrary to the promise given them, still continued, began to be outrageous; they now proceed to action; and upon a night they set fire to a baracca of powder, in the market-place where the fruit-tax was exacted; this they did again, and the damage was afterwards repaired at the publick charge. The incendiaries were at work to enrage and blow up the fire; sharp and bitter invectives, full of popular grievances, were published and dispersed; the publick officers were threatned with ruin and death; and these insolent libels were fixed in the most publick places of the city.

But what gave the greatest encouragement to the rioters, was the example of the Sicilians, especially those of Palermo, who had by force of arms and popular insurrections, obtained from the marquis of Velez, viceroy of that kingdom, a release of the principal taxes, and a moderation of the rest. He afterwards gave them a general pardon for all excesses and outrages; for opening of prisons, for murders, thefts, for taking up arms in the country, and other offences; so that the people of Naples taking courage from the success of their neighbours, thought they had a right to the same treatment, and insisted upon their merits, pleading, that they were a free-born people, and had by their donatives, contributed largely to the support and grandeur of the Spanish monarchy.

The following are the acts of grace published in Sicily, in favour of the people:

“ **H**I S excellency by this present act, to be always in force, does take off and abolish to perpetuity, “ the tax upon meal, wine, oil, flesh and cheeze, throughout all this city and territory of Palermo for ever.

“ In Palermo, this 21st of May, 1647.

“ The marquis of Velez.

“ Subscribed by all the officers of the patrimony, and
“ likewise by the civil and criminal court, and by
“ the principal notary of the kingdom.”

THE

" **T**H E prisons of the Vicaria being this night broke
" open, and the prisoners set at liberty, and his
" excellency being sensible that the prisoners therein con-
" tained were innocent, he does by this present act pardon
" all and every one of the said prisoners; and also his
" excellency does acquit and pardon those who were found
" unreleased in the said prisons: his excellency does
" moreover give grace and pardon upon the word and
" faith of a king, to all the said prisoners, as well for the
" delinquency of flight, as for all other delinquencies for
" which they are imprisoned.

" The marquis of Velez.

" Don Livo Pente, president of justice."

These privileges and immunities obtained by the Sicilians, spirited up the people of Naples, who resolved to recover the same freedom; and you could not pass the streets without hearing, " what, are not we as valuable subjects as those of Palermo? are not we equally formidable and brave, if we could but unite to redress our grievances? let us lie no longer under our burdens: death is more acceptable than misery: to arms; to arms: let us rise as one man, and that instantly: there's nothing like the present moment; our time is precious; delays may breed danger." The streets rung with these and such mutinous expressions; and the same ferment was kept up in clubs and cabals, where people met and gave vent to their passions, by threatening their governors, and encouraging one another to shake off their chains, and recover themselves into a free state. The viceroy was soon made acquainted with these disorders; and finding matters growing ripe for an insurrection, frequently assembled the six quarters or precincts of the city, consisting of the fifth part of the gentry, and the sixth of the people; to advise against the dangers that threatened, and by all means to take off the tax upon fruits, which was the greatest grievance. This proposal was very agreeable to the populace; and had it immediately been executed, would have prevented the calamities that followed; but because it would have been prejudicial to the farmers, the design had no success: for

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for these publicans used all their interest with the visitor-general of the kingdom, to prevail upon the viceroy, to continue the tax till the month of August following; and to this end, they presented his lady with fifteen thousand ducats. The visitor not able to resist the gold, persuaded the viceroy to continue the tax notwithstanding his promises; and for his own private advantage, insinuated that it would reflect upon his honour, to submit to the insolent importunities of a mob, consisting of a few rascally fellows, who made all this noise to throw every thing in confusion, that they might the better fish in troubled waters; and therefore he advised him to repair the toll-house for fruit, that was burn'd down; which he did, but resolved at the same time to take off the tax, and find out a way to qualify the heats of the discontented people on the one side, and the nobility, gentry and merchants of Naples on the other, who had advanced to the publick upon that tax, above six hundred thousand crowns on account of the capital million, and eighty five thousand crowns of annual rent.

This healing scheme was told abroad to the disadvantage of the government; and the jealous populace suspected, that in the place of the tax upon fruit, a new tax was to be levied upon corn and wine, which threw them into the utmost rage; and they gave out, that they would sooner die than suffer such impositions, and insisted, that the tax upon fruit should be quite abolished, and no new burden laid, to pay off the debt that was contracted upon it.

Affairs being in this posture, and every thing concurring to a rebellion, an opportunity unexpectedly offered upon the 7th of July, in the year 1647, that fully answered the purpose. The Account that I shall give of it, will proceed regularly from day to day, and nothing shall be related but what comes from authority and good credentials; that so surprizing an event may appear exactly in the manner it was brought about; and be faithfully transmitted, for the improvement and information of posterity.

In a corner of the market-place in Naples lived one Mafaniello, a young fellow about 24 years of age, of a sprightly disposition and bold address, and who had a great

great share of courage and resolution, as the consequences will soon make appear. He got his living chiefly by angling ; and at times he bought fish in the market and retailed them again ; and as it happened, over one of the windows of his house were fixed the arms and name of Charles V. of a very ancient standing ; which at this time was understood to be a mysterious presage of what afterwards happened : and as he would often say himself, that this angler and retailer of fish should restore the city of Naples to a state of liberty, and recover and establish the charter of privileges granted to the city by that great and invincible monarch, whose arms were fixed on his house.

But, notwithstanding all that he himself gave out, and what others pretended to prognosticate, it was the general opinion of his neighbours, that the extent of his monarchy would terminate in a strong room, with a crown of straw : and the reader will easily form an idea of the figure he made in the world, when his dress is described, which was something odd : he wore no shoes, and had long linnen slops or drawers, which served for both breeches and stockings ; upon his head he had generally a mariner's cap, and his hair was cropp'd so short that it did but just appear below it ; a coat he despised, and his perpetual garment was a blue jacket.

However this Mafaniello, from a kind of natural craft, observing that ~~murmurs~~ and discontent prevailed in every corner of the town, and that the people were ripe for disturbance, took this opportunity to publish his designs. Upon a day, (which was about four days before the holy festival of Corpus Domini) he was going home in a violent passion ; and it being in his way to pass by the church of Carmine, where the famous banditto Perone, with two more of his companions, had fled for the benefit of refuge, one of them asked him, what was the matter that he was so angry, and so much out of humour ? he replied in a great rage, " I'll be bound to be hanged, if I do not see justice done upon these villains ; I'll put an end to the oppression upon the people of Naples, or I'll lose my life." They fell a laughing, and jeer'd him, saying, " thou art a rare fellow to set up for patriot ! thou pretend to right the city !" Mafaniello answered, " you may

" laugh

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" laugh, and be as merry as you please ; but I swear by
" the living God, if I had two or three of my mettle that
" would stand by me, you should see what work I'd
" make with the rogues.' They asked him, what method
he would take? " will you join with me says he?" they
told him they would with all their hearts ; they shook
hands upon it, and having vowed to go through with the
cause they had undertaken, they parted, and Mafaniello
went about his busines.

But he had not been long at home before he met with
fresh provocation ; for some of the officers of the customs
having accidentally met his wife in the street, as she was
carrying a small quantity of contraband flour in her apron,
they laid hold on her, and hauled her to prison ; and,
without having the least regard to the tears and intreaties
of her husband, would not let her go, till he had sold all
his goods, to pay a fine of an hundred ducats, which was
the price they had set on her liberty. This barbarous ex-
tortion struck so deep into the heart of this young man, who
was naturally choleric, that he immediately meditated
upon the means of being revenged ; and considering how
the people were enraged by the tax upon fruit, he made
use of that pretence, and running up and down among
the fruit-shops that were in that quarter, complained
loudly of the cruelty of the tax, and engaged them to come
in a body to the market-place, and there declare publick-
ly to the country-fruiterers, that it was in vain for them to
bring their fruit to the market, for they would not buy
one basket till the tax was taken off.

While this was doing the tumult increased ; and the
noise of it was carried to all the shops in the town ; and to
suppress the disorder, Andreas Anaclerio, elect of the peo-
ple, who was chosen that very day, repaired with all haste
to the market-place, where the fruit was exposed to sale ;
and finding every thing in confusion and the shop-keepers
crying out, that they would buy no taxed fruit, he used
soft and mollifying words, and with much difficulty per-
suaded them to pay the tax for that one time, and it
should be exacted of them no more : which at last they
complied to do, and so the matter was adjusted, and the
people returned home. Mafaniello finding himself disap-
pointed,

pointed, and that nothing was to be done there, still continued his purpose; and running about the streets to every quarter of the town, he cried out, no tax, no tax; some laughed, and took him for a madman, but his words made a deep impression upon others, as will appear by the event.

When he came home to his stall in the market-place, he luckily found a great number of boys got together; and when he had insinuated himself among them, he made his speech, and inveigh'd bitterly against the cruelty of the government: "Look ye here, says he, my lads, how we are ridden, *tax upon tax*, thirty six ounces to the loaf of bread, twenty two the pound of cheefe, six granas for beef, six granas for pulse, nine granas for veal, two granas the pint of wine: are these things to be endured? no, my boys; get my words by heart, and sound them thro' every street of the city, but say nothing against the king of Spain; cry only, let God live, let the lady of Carmine live; let the pope live, long live the king of Spain, but let our wicked government die, let the cursed government die:" The boys when they had got their lesson perfect, followed his directions, and dispersing themselves in every corner, cried along the streets as they were taught, and had the boldness to go to the palace, and cry out under the nose of the viceroy of the kingdom: and indeed, the complaint was in some measure just, though the method of redress was otherwise, for at that time every commodity above-named bore the same price that Mafaniello set upon it. This tumult of children set the city in an uproar, and their noise made different impressions on the people; some fell a-laughing at the oddness of the thing, but others began to be in pain for the consequences. The boys were often asked what was the matter, and who set them at work? they answered they were the scholars of Mafaniello the fisherman: and when his neighbours jested upon him about his conduct, as a man perfectly distracted and out of his wits, he replied seriously, "You may laugh at me now, but you shall soon see what this fool Mafaniello can do; let me alone, and give me my way, and if I don't set you free from all your taxes, and all the slavery that now grinds you to death, may I be cursed, and called

"villain for ever." This frantick answer confirmed them the more that the man was raving and out of his senses; but Mafaniello no way affected with this treatment, attended to his busines, and immediately listed and took the names of the boys that followed him, about the age of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, 'till he compleated a company of five hundred; but still numbers came in, and he went on enrolling till he made up a regiment of five thousand, all choice and sturdy lads; and giving them their lesson against the next day, he dismiss'd them for that time, giving every one of them a weapon in their hands, and appointing them to be ready the next morning, and he would be their general, and lead them on to glory and liberty,

The devotion of the Neapolitans to the lady of Carmine, is so great and so universal, that they do not only express it by the solemnity with which they celebrate the feitival every year, on the 16th day of July, but also by several publick rejoicings and holy-days previous to it. Among other things, it was a custom upon these days to observe a certain ceremony, which was, that a sort of castle or tower of wood was erected in the midst of the great market-place, and a company of boys used to defend it, whilst another set of lads pelted and battered it with sticks and fruit; and this drew together a great concourse of people of the meaner sort, who were much delighted with this mobbyish diversion, which indeed seldom ended without quarrelling and bloodshed.

The morrow, being the 7th of July, came, and the castle being then to be stormed, according to custom, Mafaniello failed not to come to the market-place, with his brigade after him. It was about the hour when the country fruiterers used to bring their fruit to the market, to pay the tax that was set upon it; and such great quantities were generally brought, that the officers had a great deal of trouble in collecting the tax, and in the hurry some of the baskets were overturned, and the fruit thrown into the dirt, which served the boys to scramble for; and a multitude of them always got together for that purpose. But upon this day, the fruiterers sold not a basket of fruit, for the costermongers of the town had associated and resolved

solved not to lay out a farthing, because they would not encourage the tax ; and declared they would not buy an apple till the tax was abolished. The countrymen having no market for their goods, were enraged, and fell upon the shop-keepers that were near them with cudgels ; and a very sharp encounter there was, for they fought it out stoutly on both sides : besides, the citizens wanted to be supplied with fruit, as usual, and there being none but sorry stale stuff, that was brought the day before, they grew uneasy and tumultuous, and the whole city was in a heat and confusion. The account of these disorders was carried to Zufia Grassiero, regent of the city, who immediately gave orders to Anaclerio, the elect of the people, to take a proper course with the rioters, and put an end to the commotions : he came directly to the market-place with some attendants about him, and having used all the arts of threatening and persuasion to little purpose, for the tumult ran high, and the two parties were fiercely engaged, he at last interceded for a short cessation of arms, which was granted, and each party giving an account of their case, he determined in favour of the townsmen, and calling the country fruiterers foreigners and encroachers, (most of them being of the city of Puzzuolo) he rebuked them severely for the Disturbances they had made, and declared, that if they came there again and broke the peace, he would have them bastinado'd to the purpose, and condemned to the gallies.

Among the countrymen of Puzzuolo, there was a noisy fellow, a near kinsman of Mafaniello's, who was deeply concerned in the riot ; for the matter, it seems, was concerted before, between him and Mafaniello, and he acted up to his instructions ; he not only set the country and town together by the ears, but finding that fruit bore a very low price, and after he had payed the tax and carriage, there would remain but a trifle for himself, he affected to be in a violent passion, and kicking down with his foot two baskets of fruit, he bawled out, " God gives us plenty, and our cursed governors gives us fat mine : let the fruit rot and perish, it is not worth picking up, let them take it that will." Mafaniello stood ready, watching the opportunity with his boys, who fell

a scrambling for the fruit ; and every thing falling out as he expected, he ran in among the mob, and cried out, without tax, without tax : Anaclerio surprized at this insolence that was acted before his face, threatned to have him whipt, and then sent to the gallies : upon which, the fruiterers, and the people that were there, pelted him with figgs and apples, and other fruit, till his face was swelled, and his eyes almost out of his head : but Mafaniello not yet satisfied, took up a stone as big as he could well manage, and throwing it at Anaclerio, hit him full in the breast. His militia of boys followed the example of their leader, and fell upon the elect with stones ; who with great difficulty breaking his way in a coach through the crowd, drove to the church of Carmine, where he found a felucca, and got safe to the palace, otherwise he had certainly been tore to pieces, or stoned to death by the boys.

Upon this success, and encouraged by these hopeful beginnings, the rabble flocked together in great numbers, as well in the market-place as in other quarters of the city : they now talked loudly, and without reserve, of the oppressions they endured ; protesting and publishing in every street, that they would be no more beasts of bur-den to be rid by domineering governors, who sucked their very blood : and for taxes they would never pay a farthing more. But still they pretended to be mighty loyal, for the general cry was, " long live the king of Spain, but let the cursed government die." The fury and violence of the populace still encreasing, Mafaniello put himself at the head of them : he was followed by an infinite number of boys, and all sorts of loose people ; some were armed with sticks, others with pikes and javelins, and what came first to hand, all which they had plundered out of the tower of Carmine : and thus surrounded with his ragged regiments, he leaped on the highest table among the fruiterers, and demanding silence he made this harangue : " Rejoice, my dear companions and countrymen ; give God thanks, and the most gracious virgin of Carmine, that the hour of our redemption, and the time of out deliverance draweth near : this poor fisherman, bare-footed as he is, shall, as another

" ther Moses, who delivered the Israelites from the cruel
" rod of Pharaoh the Egyptian king, free you from all
" taxes and impositions that were ever laid upon you. It
" was a fisherman, I mean St. Peter, who reduced the
" city of Rome from the slavery of the devil to the
" liberty of Christ; and the whole world followed that
" deliverance, and obtained their freedom from the same
" bondage: now another fisherman, one Masaniello, I
" am the man, shall release the city of Naples, and
" with it a whole kingdom, from the cruel yoke of
" tolls and taxes. Shake off, therefore, from this mo-
" ment the yoke; be free, if you have but courage,
" from those intollerable oppressions, under which you
" have hitherto groaned. To bring this glorious end
" about, for myself, I don't value if I am torn to pieces,
" and dragged up and down the city of Naples through
" all the kennels and gutters that belong to it. Let all
" the blood in my body spin chearfully out of these
" veins; let this head dance from these shoulders by the
" fatal steel, and be perched up over this market-place
" upon a pole to be gazed at, yet I shall die contented
" and glorious; it will be triumph and honour sufficient
" for me, to think that my blood and life were sacrificed
" in so worthy a cause, and that I became the Saviour
" of my country."

This marvellous piece of oratory was received by the people with univeral applause as it dropped from his mouth; they declared, they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them; they were mad to be put upon action; and as a testimony of their good affection to the cause, they immediately threw a lighted torch into the house that joined to the toll-houle for fruit, and they were both in a few moments consumed to the ground, with all the books of accounts that belonged to the tax, and many commodities that belonged to the farmers of the customs, that were there laid up.

This action alarmed the whole city, the mob increased in every street, the citizens shut up their shops, for fear of being plundered; and many of them joined in the riot, that they might have a share of the spoil. All things were in the utmost confusion; the people divided themselves

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selves into several companies, and bent their course to several quarters where the tax houses lay ; these they attack'd : the toll-houses of fruit, of corn, flesh, fish, salt, wine, oil, cheese, silk, of every thing that was either to be eaten or worn, were broke open, not one of them was spared ; they took out of them all the books of accounts and entries that belonged to the several taxes, and all the furniture, as well of the farmers as others, and every thing that was pledg'd or otherwise ; as fine hangings, chairs, arms, great quantities of money, with other valuable and rich moveables, forms, tables, stools, all was thrown into a great fire made of straw for that purpose, and consum'd to ashes in the streets. There is one thing remarkable, that in this general confusion, there was one strict point of orders observ'd, that in rising those houses of the best of furniture, and great sums of money, no man dared to lay his hand upon any thing for his own use, but all was dedicated to the fire, and destroy'd utterly ; because, they said, " the wealth and furniture of the rich, " was gotten by squeezing the poor ; and therefore it " was the heart's blood of the people, and not to be spar- " ed upon any account, or for any purpose whatsoever.

The mob all this while grew confident and audacious, having met with no opposition, they increased every hour, and soon made up the number of 10000 : depending upon their strength, they boldly advanced towards the palace of the viceroy, many of them insolently carrying loaves of bread upon the top of their pikes, to signify the dearness of bread, upon account of the tax laid upon corn, a loaf not weighing above 22 ounces ; the cry still continuing, but with greater vehemence, " Long-live the king " of Spain ; and let the cursed government perish."

The posse of boys, consisting of about 5000, marched in the van with Mafaniello at the head of them, and to make the cavalcade the more affecting, every one tied to the top of his cane a sort of flag of black cloth ; and walking solemnly and dolefully along, they cried out in a most lamentable tone,—" Have compassion upon " those poor souls suffering in purgatory, who being un- " able any longer to endure the barbarous exactions, and " the insupportable weight of so heavy grievances, are

" con-

" contriving to ease and redress themselves : O dear Brothers, join with us in this good design ! O dear sisters, lend us your assistance, to promote so just, so necessary an undertaking, and so profitable for the publick good !" This pitiful complaint they whined as they went through the streets, till coming to the prison of St. James, they violently broke in, and setting the prisoners at liberty, they took them into present service and protection.

Being come to the palace, and placing themselves under the window of the viceroy, they began to be rude and noisy, and demanded positively, to be freed not only from the tax upon fruit, but from all other taxes whatever ; especially that laid upon corn. The viceroy, surprized with this attempt, shewed himself in the balcony, and complied with them so far as to abolish wholly the tax upon fruit, and part of the corn-tax also : but this indulgence rather enraged than pacified the people : they cried out, they would not be relieved by halves, but the whole should be taken off ; bawling out still, " Long live the king of Spain, but cursed be the government." Then they pressed hard upon the palace-gate, which they forced in defiance of the German and Spanish guards : and a party of them attempting to go up stairs to speak with the viceroy himself, and give him a more particular account of their grievances, his excellency sent positive orders to the guard not to oppose them, but suffer them to come up. But in the hurry and confusion, that order was not obeyed, because it could with difficulty be heard ; and the soldiers thought to make good their post against the people. But all resistance was vain ; for the mob forced all opposition ; and with scarce any thing in their hands but canes and clubs, (a thing almost incredible) and with violent outcries, they rushed in, and imperiously demanded audience of the viceroy : but he was seasonably got out of the way. They used the Spanish and German guards with great insolence and contempt, and pressed upon them so hard, that they were afraid of their lives ; and to secure themselves, they abandoned their posts, took to their heels, and made the best of their way to their quarters.

The palace on the outside was now without guard or defence : the gate was open, and the people entered.

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The door of the great hall they found shut, but they soon broke it open without difficulty: but attempting to enter the chamber of audience, they found there a strong guard of Dutch halberdeers, and a party of Spaniards, who made all possible resistance: but the torrent was not to be stopped: the weight of the people bore down all: they seized the guard, and made them deliver their halberds, and other weapons; so that the coast being cleared, they abated of their violence, and examined leisurely one room after another 'till they came to the very last apartment in the palace, in which they found a closet, the door whereof was strongly secured by large iron bolts; this gave them just reasons to suspect that the viceroy had secreted himself therein, upon which they immediately fell to work with the halberds they had taken from the viceroy's guard, and whatever else they could lay hold of, and beat the door to pieces; but by the timely interposition of some gentlemen, tho' it was with great difficulty, the viceroy was permitted to escape with his life.

Hoewever, notwithstanding they had for the present warded off the fatal blow, as they found Masaniello's party could not be long appeased, it was judged necessary to search for some place of greater safety; therefore the viceroy and a few gentlemen who were along with him resolved to fly into the castle, where the dutchess of Arcos, with her children and several ladies of distinction, had just before retired; but no sooner was this resolution taken, than advice was received that the ladies had got the draw-bridge taken up, whereby their designs were frustrated; hereupon the viceroy determined to take shelter in a neighbouring church, which was dedicated to St. Lewis, where there was a friery of St. Francisco de Paola; but in the first place he took an opportunity of looking out at a window, where he could be seen by the malecontents, who were at that time assembled in great numbers about the palace, and told them that he was willing to redress all their grievances; and as a testimony of his sincere intentions so to do, he dispersed decrees for that purpose, signed with his own hand, to which was also affixed the great signet; whereby the tax upon fruit was entirely taken off, and great part of that upon

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edorn: but this proposal was rejected by the people with indignation; who raised a violent outcry, and making signs to him at the window, insisted that he should come down, and treat personally with them. The viceroy being afraid lest they should fire the house about his ears, resolved to come down, and if possible, get into the church of St. Lewis, before the mob knew any thing of his design.

In the mean time, that party of the rabble that got into the palace, resolved to strip and gut every room of it, and accordingly they tore down the tapestry and the glasses, and running from one room to another with great fury, carried off all the tables, chairs, skreens, and other moveables of value; and throwing them out into the yard, they laid them in a heap, and set them on fire, and so burnt them to ashes. But yet (which was somewhat remarkable in the height of such popular distraction) they did not so much as attempt to enter the apartment of his eminence the cardinal Trivulcio, who lived in that palace, and was at home at the same time, under the greatest apprehensions of being mob'd to death.

The viceroy designed to come down, in order to his escape; and for that purpose had a coach with two horses ready at a place appointed, to carry him off. St. Lewis's church was at no great distance, and therefore he apprehended no great difficulty in the design: but he had no sooner stepp'd into the coach, but some of the mob spied him, and stopped him. He began now to apprehend his life in danger; especially when the people forced open the coach doors, and presenting two naked swords to his breast, they threatened him with instant death, unless he would take off the taxes. He promised them, we may be sure, under that distress, and persuaded them mildly to lay down their arms and return home: but this gave them no manner of satisfaction: they would hearken to nothing, unless he would come out of the coach and treat with them openly; and then perhaps somewhat might be done towards quieting the troubles. His excellency was forced to comply, and then the mob began to use him civilly, and with some respect. Some of them with great zeal and submission kissed his hands; and others upon

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their knees intreated him, " Most excellent sir, for the
" love and passion of God, disburden us of these heavy
" taxes, which prey upon our very heart's blood ; let us
" have no more slavery ; let us breath." The viceroy
answered with all imaginable condescension, and gave them
his word that all taxes should cease from that moment.
But tho' he was outwardly treated with tolerable regard,
and in some sort suitably to his character ; yet he did not
think himself safe, so long as he was surrounded with such
a confused and disorderly multitude : therefore, to divert
the people, he threw among them some hundred sequins
of gold, which he had provided for that purpose, in case
of necessity. This project had the designed effect : for
tho' many of them would not be blinded by the bait, and
~~cried out~~, that they did not want to be relieved by scatter-
ing his money among them, but to be freed from the op-
pression of taxes ; yet, while the greatest part of them
were scrambling for the gold, his excellency got into his
coach, which conveyed him safe to the sanctuary of St.
Lewis. And he was no sooner got in but he immediately
commanded all the doors of the church to be shut, as well
as of the monastery that belonged to it.

The people that were busy about the money, at length
perceiving that the viceroy had slipped out of their hands,
were perfectly outrageous, and resolved instantly to pull
down the monastery. They went thither in a body, and
meeting with no opposition, they battered down the first
great gate, and designed to serve the rest in the same man-
ner ; demanding violently to be released from the taxes ;
and insisting, that his excellency should deliver to them an
instrument in writing under his hand and seal, that he would
abolish their taxes, and confirm their privileges to them and
their posterity. The mob went on with their work in pul-
ling down the gates : and lest the monastery should be
pulled down too, the viceroy considered how he should put
a stop to their outrages ; the doing of which would be
difficult, their numbers increasing every moment. At
length he thought it prudence to open the window, and
speak to them, which he did ; persuading them to give
over such violent methods, to disperse and go home, af-
furing them, that there should be no more taxes, but every
thing

thing complied with to their satisfaction. Nevertheless, the people being jealous they should be deluded, they took no manner of notice of the promises of the viceroy, but continued to batter and pull down another gate, which was soon done; and so without more obstruction, they immediately entered the monastery:

Things being in this agitation, his eminence cardinal Filomarino, archbishop of Naples, used all possible endeavours to appease the populace. This most reverend prelate was always zealous and active in his pastoral charge, and devoted all his labours to the service of God and the good of his church: he was sensible what calamities usually attend such disorders, and that civil discord and sedition among the people, had contributed more to the ruin and desolation of cities and kingdoms, than all the stratagems and hostile attempts of foreign and professed enemies. And therefore, to prevent the miseries of fire and sword that must necessarily ensue, he went in his coach to the monastery, and applied himself with great courtesy and condescension to the mob, intreating them, that they would desist from such violent and unjustifiable methods, and submit to have their grievances redressed in a legal way. They answered, but respectfully enough, that they could not be satisfied till the viceroy had delivered to them the instrument they had demanded, which was to confirm a release of all the taxes, especially those laid upon corn and fruit. His eminence replied, that he would be an advocate for them, and endeavour to obtain it: and so going out of his coach, he went in person through the thicket of the people, who made way for him, till he came to another gate that was in immediate danger of being pulled down by the mob. But as soon as they saw the archbishop, the heat of their rage was a little abated; for they professed the utmost reverence and veneration for him: however, they insisted upon a redress of their grievances, and that the taxes might be abolished. The archbishop promised to use his interest, and engaged to bring them the instrument signed and sealed in the manner they desired. But considering, that if he left the People, and waited in person upon the viceroy, they might return to their former fury and distraction; he thought it more pru-

dential to send a messenger to his excellency, with an excuse that he did not come himself; and desiring, that he would send the instrument confirmed as it should be, with all possible dispatch. The charter was soon drawn up, signed, sealed, and sent to the archbishop, with a desire at the same time, that he would deliver it with his own hands to the people. He immediately stepped into his coach, and holding the written instrument in his hand visibly, that every one might see it, he drove away without opposition, drawing the whole body of the mob after him all along Toledo-street; every one pressing towards the coach to be satisfied what it contained. The coach stopped in a convenient place, and the archbishop read out the charter to the people; which was no sooner done, but they cried out one and all, "that they were "cheated and imposed upon; for, that instrument signified no more, than that the tax upon fruit, and seven carlines upon wheat were taken off:" but they insisted, "that most, if not all of the other taxes should be abolished; especially those that were imposed since Charles V." The archbishop perceiving that no healing measures would be heard while the mob continued in that ferment, delivered the instrument to the head of the people, who was appointed for that purpose; and then retired to his palace without opposition.

The mob who followed the cardinal, finding they were cheated, hasted away to the great market-place, where a great multitude of their comrades were got together; and, having given an account of the instrument, they came to a resolution, "that it was but satisfaction in part; that their grievances were still unredressed; and therefore it was necessary for the common defence of the faithful people of Naples, (for this was the title by which they distinguished themselves) to form themselves into regular bodies; and to list a sufficient number of men, to assist them in recovering their rights, and procuring them a total discharge from taxes." Then they broke up; and a party of them, consisting of thousands of men and boys, marched directly to the palace; and another company took their way towards the monastery of St. Lewis, and resolved to force open the gates, which by this time were

were fortified against them. The first attack they made was upon that Part of the monastery where many lords and ladies, and persons of the first quality had taken shelter: but they were vigorously repulsed by the Spanish guards; and particularly, a captain laid about him furiously with his sword, and the soldiers fired upon them with their muskets; which did execution among the rabble, many of whom were dead upon the spot. During this encounter, the ladies took the opportunity to retire, and to secure themselves in the friars cells; and the viceroy, by the assistance of the abbot of the convent, found an opportunity to scale the walls, and got safely to the monastery of Jesuits; from whence he was soon removed by some of his Spaniards, who carried him in an old sedan, and lodged him in the castle of St. Elmo.

It was soon rumoured abroad, that the viceroy had made his escape out of the monastery, which put a stop to any further outrage upon that place: for, the rabble drew off together, and marched directly to the palace, which they resolved to possess themselves of by disarming the Spaniards that kept the guard: but they compounded, by delivering to the rabble their drums and half-pikes; and their swords and muskets they were allowed to keep. In this distraction they left the palace, and dispersed themselves to all quarters of the city, where any of the Spanish guards were set; whom they immediately attacked, and took away their arms. Then they marched into the suburb of Chiagia, to the palace of don Tiberio de Gaffra, prince of Bisignano, who was field-master, and colonel-general of the battalion of Naples. This nobleman, by his affability and good qualities, had recommended himself to the affection of the people, who perfectly adored him, and in this exigency depended much upon his protection and advice. They addressed him with great respect and submission, and intreated him "to be
" their defender, and intercede for them with the viceroy,
" that the cruel oppression of the taxes might be taken off,
" and their privileges be confirmed to them, as they were
" established by Charles V."

But before the prince of Bisignano could send his answer to the people, a great number of men ran furiously

to the toll-house, where they exacted the tax upon fruit at Chiagia, and immediately set fire to the house, and burnt it down to the ground, with all the books of accounts and entries, furniture and goods that were in it. The mob still increased by continual supplies : the suburbs were filled with the confused multitude of people : and the heads of them observing their numbers, divided them into two squadrons, or rather into two armies. By this time, the prince of Bisignano came out among them on horseback. A company of the lesser boys drew up in a circle about him, and cried, " no impositions, no taxes." He desired them " to observe some order, and not ruin " themselves and the city of Naples by such violent pro-
ceedings ; for nothing could be done in such heat and
distraction : and, as for the taxes, he promised they
should soon be taken off." But the people, not at all satisfied, kept up the cry, and conducting the prince by the palace and the castle, and the most popular streets of the city, they brought him at last to the great market-place. Here were got together above 50,000 of the rabble, all uniting in a general outcry, " down with the
" taxes, down with the taxes." The prince was astonished at the fury of the multitude, and concluded it impossible to appease them ; he spoke to them in the most obliging terms, and assured them of his inclinations to serve them : but all to no purpose, till at last he considered that religion might possibly make impression upon their minds ; and the church of the lady of Carmine being conveniently at hand, he led them thither ; and placing himself upon an eminence, from whence he might be heard, with a crucifix in his hands, he intreated them in the most solemn manner : he prayed, exhorted and conjured them, " by
" the passion and love of God, and for the sake of the
" blessed virgin his patroness, that they would give over
" their rage, and suffer their affairs to be settled in a regu-
" lar way :" he promised them, and gave his oath for it,
" that he would intercede for them to the viceroy, and
" obtain a redress of their grievances to their full satis-
" faction." But the people, ever jealous of their privileges, cried out, " that words and promises were but
" wind ; and that they would never disperse, and let the
" power

" power slip out of their hands, till the taxes were abolished, and they were established in their liberties." The prince perceiving their fury was not to be opposed, led them out of church again into the market-place ; and continued with them, hoping that an opportunity might offer when they would hearken to reason : and he often applied to them for that purpose, and assured them, " that " he would make their cause his own, which he would " never give up, till the peace and privileges of the city " were settled upon the foot they desired." But though they behaved to him with outward respect ; yet they were in too great a ferment, to subside and grow cool by persuasions only.

The multitude encreased every moment ; and fresh recruits flocked in from all corners of the city. This additional strength made them more outragious ; and so they marched in a great body, to the prisons of Santa Mariz d'Agnone, and of Santa Archangelo ; which they resolved to force and break open. The keepers, assisted by a company of guards, attempted to resist ; but they were soon bore down, and with much ado got off with their lives. The gates flew open, which they immediately unhinged, and threw into the street ; which was followed by a general goal delivery ; and all the prisoners were set at liberty. Then they fell to stripping the rooms and rifling whatever came to their hands ; and finding the records and court-books, which contained the proceedings against the prisoners, they tore them in pieces, and made a fire of them, in which they were burnt to ashes. In the same manner they served the prisons that belonged to the manufactures of wool and silk ; and notwithstanding the reverence they professed to the person of the archbishop, yet they broke open the prison that was his peculiar ; burnt the journals of the court, and the prisoners were let out. They next directed their course to the prisons of the Nunziatura and of the Vicaria, which they determined to force as they had done the rest : but some of them were against this violence ; for they insisted, " That they were royal " prisons, and formerly had been palaces of their kings ; " and therefore were to be treated with more respect." But this argument was rejected by the major part of the rabble,

rabble, who attack'd the gates with their usual fury. The keepers and warders within, were prepared to receive them ; for they expected to receive a visit from them, and so a sharp encounter followed. But at last, with much persuasion, the prince of Bisignano, whom they thus obliged to go along with them, put an end to the encounter ; for he told them, " that the prisoners within, " were none but foreigners, murderers, and thieves ; and " to give liberty to such villains was to loose a pack of " wolves, who would soon return to their old trade of " robbing and cutting of throats."

Their next attempt was dreadful indeed ; for they set no bounds to their fury. They steered away from these prisons which happened to escape, towards the Dogana, or toll-house for corn ; and (which was really terrible to behold) they carried faggots upon their backs, and fire and pitch in their hands, and forcing open the gates they made a pile and set all on fire. The building was soon consumed ; but they would not stir off the spot till every thing was reduced to ashes.

The prince of Bisignano was astonished at their rage, and used all possible arts to prevent this mischief. But nothing could appease the madness of the enraged populace ; and all the arguments he could use, rather increased than abated the distraction. This exploit concluded in the destruction of vast quantities of corn that was there laid up ; great sums of money that belonged to the officers of the toll-house ; and all the furniture and household-goods, which promiscuously perished in the flames.

Having glutted themselves with this horrid spectacle, they drew off, and went up to the piazza of St. Laurence's church. Hither the prince of Bisignano followed them, and tho' he could promise himself no great success, yet he continued to use his endeavours to restore peace to the city ; but the torrent was too strong to be opposed ; all persuasion was to no purpose, being lost and confounded by the noise of the multitude ; whose spirits were too much enflamed to be argued into temper. They attempted to enter the church and by that means get into the cloisters, which was the way leading to the steeple, where the great bell hung : but they met with a strong resistance
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by some banditi within, who had fled there for sanctuary : two of them however fell a sacrifice to the people's rage, and were killed upon the spot.

The more sober part of the populace by this time began to dread the event, and to be in pain for the consequences which might follow ; for they had no great advantage at this time : however there were some incendiaries amongst them, who still kept up their spirits, and added fuel to the flames. Amongst these was a certain Sicilian, who seemed to be rather a devil in human shape than a man ; and dealt about him as if he had been possess'd by all the furies of hell. It is almost incredible, with what desperate fury this fellow behaved : he was foremost in all danger ; and was tearing and pulling down with the flames raging about his ears : he was the head of the rabble ; would lead them to action ; and if they discover'd any signs of fear, he would upbraid them with cowardice, and call them a pack of poor spirited wretches, that did not deserve the privileges they were contending for : and with such sort of speeches he inflam'd their spirits, and gave them no time to cool. But the justice of heaven mark'd him out for destruction ; for he was shot dead from the tower of St. Laurence, by a musket-ball which took him full in the forehead.

The prince of Bisignano was by this time quite tired with the fatigue he had undergone : he had been many hours on horseback, and the weather being excessive hot he was ready to faint ; being a person of a very tender constitution, not able to endure hardship, and was almost suffocated by the multitude of people that was continually thronging about him. All attempts to peace and accommodation he found were ineffectual ; and therefore he resolved to disengage himself from the tumult as soon as he could : but this was not to be done abruptly ; and therefore, addressing himself to the rabble, who began to be tired after their day's work, he persuaded them to separate into parties, and take up their quarters that night in several parts of the city ; so that on the morrow, they might easily come to the common rendezvous, and they should find him ready to obey their commands ; but insisted, that they should commit no hostilities, and burn no more

houses till the morning. The people thought the proposal reasonable ; and while they were dividing themselves into companies, the prince conveyed himself out of the crowd and got off safely. He retired to the house of a near relation, where, having stayed a short time to refresh himself, towards the close of the evening he was carried in a sedan into Castelnovo, and blessed God, that he had escaped with life, out of the hands of a distracted and implacable people.

But the rabble soon found what the prince intended by dividing them ; and concluding, that their safety lay in keeping together, they united again ; and perhaps had they found the prince, his life might have been in danger : but upon enquiry, he was gone ; and the people perceiving they had no body to head them, cried out one and all for Mafaniello, who first set on foot the recovery of their liberties. The barefooted fisherman appeared ; and after they had complimented him with great titles of being the saviour and father of his country, they made him their general. Mafaniello readily accepted of the command ; and not troubling them with speeches of his own inabilities, as is usual on such occasions, he told them, “ they should find him no paltron ; for all the blood in his body was at their service, and he would either put an end to their grievances, by abolishing those cursed taxes ; or he would die in the attempt.” This declaration was received by the rabble with loud huzzas : and the first thing done by the new general, was, by beat of drum thro’ the whole city and suburbs, to summon the people to arms against the tyranny of the government, and the oppression of the taxes.

The calamities with which the city was threatened by these tumults and distractions, moved some of the religious orders to go in solemn procession thro’ the streets : and this they did not only to allay the fury of the rabble, by the gravity and solemnity of their appearance ; but from a principle of religious zeal, to implore the divine assistance and mercy, that God would be pleased to put a stop to the miseries that hung over their heads, by setting bounds to the rage and madness of the people. The reverend fathers of the order of Theatins, have six churches in the city,

city, and were in great repute in pope Clement VII's time. From two of these, that of St. Paul, and of the holy Apostles, went out of each, a hundred of the religious. One company passed through Toledo-street, and so march'd on before St. Lewis's church, where it's said the most pure milk of the blessed virgin is kept : and the other took their course thro' other streets of the city, that were the most populous ; till they came to the great market-place. Here they pray'd, and spoke to the people ; from whence they went to the church of the lady of Carmine ; and having there offer'd their devotions in the most solemn manner, they return'd home ; it being by this time dark night. The pious designs, and holy services of these religious were gratefully acknowledg'd by the viceroy ; who thought it became him, to give a full account of the procession to the Conte d'Ognate, that was then catholick ambassador in the court of Rome.

The viceroy, and the whole body of the nobility, were confounded at these proceedings of the rabble ; and knew not what course to take, nor what means to use to bring them to temper. Their numbers continually increased : and to prevent any design they might have, of entering the church of St. Laurence, and seizing upon many valuable things that were there lodg'd, and belonged to the citizens ; and especially lest they should carry off eighteen pieces of ordnance, and a provision of small arms, that were kept in the tower of the church, they set a guard upon the church, and cloyster belonging to it ; consisting of Spaniards, and others that were the best soldiers they had. For his excellency judged rightly, that if the rabble got possession of the steeple, they would have the command of the great bell, that was never rung but in cases of sudden distress : and the people knew by that signal, that they must betake themselves to arms, for the city was in the utmost distress.

His excellency thinking himself no longer safe in the castle of St. Elmo, removed from thence about 2 o'clock in the morning to Castelnovo, which joins to the royal palace by a bridge that passes between them. His eminence the cardinal Trivultio, with many officers and stout cavaliers accompanied him ; and for his security, he had a good

body of Spanish soldiers for a guard. It was thought by wise men, that the viceroy might have easily suppressed the tumults, had he crushed them in the beginning, before they got to such a head ; and even now, had he exerted his authority, and put himself at the head of the king's troops, the rioters after the first onset, would have surrendered, and laid down their arms. But, instead of proceeding by these measures, which he judged were too violent, he took a milder course, and thought to win upon them, by acts of kindness and popularity : and therefore, in the room of falling upon them in an hostile way, he contrived to supply the populace with bread, which now began to be scarce and dear ; and issued out orders to be published that night, that on the morrow-morning, a loaf of bread should weigh 33 ounces and four grains ; whereas before, it scarce weigh'd 22 ounces ; and that the tax upon fruit should be utterly abolished, and never be exacted any more. However, for his better defence, he doubled the guard upon the castle.

But this did not abate the fury of the people in the least, for nothing would satisfy them but fire and desolation. And for that purpose, they caused the great bell of our lady of Carmine to be rung out thrice that very night, to call the people to arms ; and they obeyed the summons : for they flocked together in multitudes from all parts ; and dividing themselves into companies, they marched into several quarters of the city. Some went out, with a design to set fire to all the toll-houses in Naples, where the taxes were exacted ; and to cause greater terror, they carried torches in their hands, and had drums beating before them : others staid behind, to provide arms and ammunition for the service of the following day ; and for that purpose, they plundered all the shops of the gunsmiths, sword-cutlers, and other tradesmen ; and got together a great quantity of swords, muskets, bullets, gunpowder and match : others broke into the houses of the merchants ; and violently took away the arms they kept for their own security against thieves, and employ'd them for the use of the most faithful people of Naples. And because one of the shop-keepers made some resistance, and foolishly refused to gratify the rabble, not only threatening

threatening to complain to the viceroy, but rashly discharging a mortar-piece out of the window, whereby one of them was killed ; the people were so bitterly enraged that they immediately clapp'd fire to the house, wherein were many barrels of gun-powder, which blew up the house into the air : this made a dreadful shock, and struck a terror thro' the whole city. Eighty-seven persons were blown up, and forty-four were miserably wounded. The viceroy was alarm'd at these proceedings, and to prevent such barbarities for the future, he gave positive orders, " That all the powder that was lodged " any where in the city should be thoroughly wetted." On the other hand, the people behaved with an imperious authority along the streets ; and began to range themselves under some order and discipline : they resolved to have a regular army ready for their defence, and applied themselves vigorously in preparing for the busines of the following day.

July 8. The preparations made by the rabble the night before, were fore-runners of great mischief and confusion on the morrow. Their vigilance and industry were equal to their fury and resentment : they took care to be sufficiently guarded against any surprize, by keeping together in great bodies all the night, and setting watches in the suspected places of the city. Before it was clear day, Mafaniello appeared in the great market-place ; and taking an account of the arms and ammunition that was got together, and computing how many regular troops could be furnished with them, he divided the rabble into regiments and companies, and distributed the arms among them. The flower of the Neapolitan youth listed voluntarily into the service, and were eager to be led on to action. And to say the truth, Mafaniello with uncommon dexterity and popular oratory, had form'd them so exactly to his purpose, that by a motion of his hand, they would have cut the throats of ali the nobility, and set every house in the city on fire. Nothing was to be heard in the streets, but the noise of drums and trumpets, and the clashing of armour : the colours were also display'd, and now it no longer appeared to be a disorderly rabble-rout,

rout, but a formidable and well ordered army, absolutely at the command of their general, and furiously animated with brutish zeal and barbarity, being compleatly furnished with all the principles and instruments of death and cruelty. The soldiers march'd with their drawn swords, their muskets and arquebuses cock'd, and arm'd likewise with lances and targets. And what was more surprizing, and improved the astonishment of the government, the country people thronged into the town in great multitudes, breathing nothing but fire and destruction: they came down from all the villages about Naples, armed with plough-shares, pitch-forks, spades, pikes and other implements; and forming themselves into some order, they mixed themselves with the rabble, and had a principal hand in the calamities that follow'd. Nor were the women, in this general confusion, backward in their zeal: for they assembled in great numbers; furnished with fire-shovels, iron tongs, spits, and other family-instruments; protest-ing, "that they would lose their blood in the common "cause, and would never submit, till their liberties were "secured:" they vow'd they would burn the city, and themselves and children along with it, before they would be beasts of burden any longer, and bring up their children to be slaves and pack-horses to a proud and haughty nobility. Even the very children were seen with canes and sticks in their hands, threatening the nobility, and urging their fathers to battle. The common cry was, "Long live the king of Spain, but no more taxes; let "the imposts perish, and be sent to hell, to support the "dark kingdom of the devil; and cursed be those that "raiied them; those blood-suckers, those wolves, who "have devoured the flesh of the innocent lambs: let "them die and be torn limb from limb: let us make "them vomit and disgorge the blood they have sucked: "let us squeeze the hell-hounds to the last drop; those "insatiable leeches, who have drained the faithful peo- "ple of Naples, and made them ready to faint: let "these wasps that buzz about us and sting us to death, "be blown up with gun-powder; they, who have lived "upon the honey of the bees, and like drones have "plundered the hive."

These,

These, and the like, were the outcries that were clamour'd from the mouths of the populace, and rung horribly thro' all the streets of Naples. No man thought himself safe, either in his life or property. The nobility and gentry were alike in the utmost consternation. Some of them retired to the country, left their wives and daughters should be ravished ; and conveyed away their most valuable effects, to prevent their being plundered. A general fear and amazement seized the most sober part of the citizens ; who sensible of the fury of an enraged populace, shut up their shops; and were forced to applaud the riotous proceedings of the multitude, to secure their goods and houses from fire. All business and publick offices were at a stand. The arts and sciences languished : books were neglected : studies abandoned : the bar was solitary : the ecclesiasticks sung Lachrymæ : the law was suspended : patronages were despised : advocates were dumb : the judges disappeared, and the courts of justice were shut up. The arsenals only were open : magazines and store-houses were rifled by the rabble ; and the whole city was inflamed with martial fury. Nothing was to be heard in the streets but the rattling of armour, and scouring and furbishing of old muskets, pikes, and rusty swords ; every one encouraging his fellow to stand to it lustily, and threatening the execution of fire and sword against all opposers.

But the principal rendezvous of the people was about the great market-place, Lavinaro, and Porta Notala. Here they drew up in military order, and formed themselves into distinct bodies, with proper officers at the head of them ; and (which was terrible to behold) there were persons disposed between the ranks, with lighted match and flaming torches. Mafaniello was generalissimo ; and he applied himself with singular judgment to provide for all events ; to animate the people with courage, and intimidate his enemies. He sent positive orders to the thirty six precincts of the city, "to arm instantly for the common defence, under the severe penalty of firing their houses about their ears ;" which was punctually executed : and by this means, a great multitude repaired to him compleatly armed ; (which added to his strength) and joined in the common

common rage against the government. His care was now to secure ammunition ; and hearing of a shop-keeper, who had by him a quantity of gun-powder, he civilly sent to him to buy it ; and the messenger carried ready money in his hand : but the man refusing to sell it, unless he had the viceroy's authority, Mataniello detached a party from the main body to fire the house. They immediately threw lighted matches in at the windows, which falling among the powder, the house, with 60 people that were within, flew up into the air : so many were destroyed, for their bodies were numbered afterwards, the mob not suffering them to be buried for a long time. Dreadful was the shock : it made a sort of an earthquake all about it ; and the crack was as loud, as when the great galeon was blown up a few weeks before, in the port of Naples. The loss of this powder made the rabble quite furious ; and in a great body, they marched to the king's magazine, that was without the city, towards Cap de Chino ; with a design to seize it for their own use, or blow it up. When they came, they forced open the doors ; but to their great disappointment, it had been all wetted before, and would not take fire. This was done by order of the viceroy, by way of prevention, which raised the spirits of the people, to the utmost fury and distraction.

The viceroy in the midst of these tumults, took the most proper precautions for his own defence and security, and provided for the worst : and therefore not depending upon the strength of Castelnovo, and a strong guard of Spaniards that he took with him ; he found means to introduce within the gates, a reinforcement of 800 Spaniards more, 1000 Germans, and 1000 Italians. He set a guard in the street of Francisco Xaverio, to the number of 400 men. He likewise secured Pizzafalcone, which lies above the palace, and all the adjacent streets with good fortifications ; making ramparts of faggots, and digging another deep trench round about the old and new palace ; so that it was impossible for the rabble to make any attack on that quarter. His excellency commanded a great piece of ordnance to be planted at the end of every street, towards the Santo Spirito, the houses of the father Dominicans and the father Minims : another he placed upon the ascent

affent of Santa Lucia ; and two before the great gate, towards the middle of the new palace. These and other cautious measures were of great use, in securing the streets ; and served to repel the rabble, when their fury urged them to make an attempt upon the castle.

Masaniello was no less industrious in managing the people, and providing against danger and extremities. He had his spies in all quarters of the city, and the neighbouring villages ; and being informed by his scouts, that a new regiment of Germans were coming from Pozzolo to Naples, by order of the viceroy, he detached a strong body, well armed, to oppose their march : they met them upon the road, and fired briskly upon them. The Germans were so surprized at this unexpected attack, that they made but a faint resistance : and some of their men being killed, and finding they were overpowered by numbers, they surrendered and laid down their arms. Every man of them was bound ; and they were led as prisoners of war into the city. His excellency had sent for two companies of Italians for the same purpose ; but nothing could stir without the knowledge of Masaniello, who gave orders to fire upon them, if they made resistance. They surrendered upon the first summons, and were bound ; but considering better of the matter, they offered their service for the defence of the city ; and so they were released and armed, and incorporated among the other troops. The Germans had soon their liberty given them, by order of the general ; who with an air of scorn and insolence sent them to the viceroy, loaded with bread, fresh and salt meats, cheese, wine, and other provisions. And they went dancing along the streets, with meat in their hands, and bottles at their mouths ; to the great merriment and diversion of the people.

It happened this morning that some of the rabble attempting to force the Spanish guard, were beaten back ; and two ordinary fellows of their company were seized and made prisoners. News of this was soon carried to the main body ; and a detachment sent to demand the prisoners, and upon refusal to fire, and give no quarter. The prisoners however were not immediately delivered ; which so incensed the people, that they fired desperately

upon the guard, and did great execution, and many of them being killed on the spot, they threatened, that if their comrades were not instantly produced, safe and without hurt, they would slice every Spaniard in Naples to shreds, and there should not be a man of them by night left alive. To prevent their executing barbarities, and fearing they would be as good as their word, the viceroy was obliged to comply, and the prisoners were sent out safe and sound.

The people were mightily pleased with the weight of bread, which was increased considerably that morning. For a loaf of bread before, was very little above twenty-two ounces; but it now weighed eleven ounces more; in all thirty three. Upon this occasion, the women and children ran out into the streets, leaping and dancing with loaves in their hands, and crying out, " Long live the king of Spain: God save the most faithful people of Naples; but the cruel government would starve us with famine; down with it; down with it; down with the taxes." It was thought, that this alteration in the weight of bread would have produced good effects; but the martial fury of the rabble was so fomented by the Harangues and violence of their leaders, that they breathed nothing but fire and desolation, and seemed determined that the tumults should not end, but in the destruction of the city.

The viceroy, as was before observed, had fortified himself in Castelnoyo; and having with him some Lords of the collateral council, and others of the principal nobility, and of the council of state, he advised with them what was proper to be done, to put a stop to the commotions. Many and various were the debates upon the subjects. Some were for making a sally out of Castelnoyo, with a strong body of guards; which might possibly disperse the undisciplined rabble; or at least, would shew the resolution of the government; that they determined to repel force by force. But his excellency seeming tender of the lives of the people, could not be persuaded into these Measures; but tried gentler methods, by sending a soft and condescending letter to Mafaniello; wherein he absolutely granted what was demanded the day before, " that the taxes

" taxes should be taken off, and the people established in " their privileges." But the haughty general grew imperious upon this condescension ; and raising higher in his demands, declared, " that he would be satisfied with no- " thing less than a restitution of the privileges granted by " king Ferdinand, and Charles V. of glorious memory ; " whose statute he had over his door ; and that the viceroy, " the collateral council, the council of state, and the no- " bility, should by a publick instrument, oblige themselves " their successors and posterity, to maintain inviolably the " old charter of privileges, and never hereafter to in- " croach upon the liberties of it ?" he insisted further, " that the clerk of the market, should for ever be in the " nomination of the people : that they should chuse a " Capo Populi, or head of the people, without any inter- " position of the viceroy ; and he should be a lord by " title, according to the antient practice, when the prince " of Salermo enjoyed that office : and without the consent " of this popular tribune, no taxes or impositions should " be laid : if they were, the people might lawfully refuse " to pay, without falling under the imputation and penal- " ty of rebellion." His excellency and the council thought these articles were unconscionable, and injurious to the authority and prerogative of the king his master. However, he concealed his resentments, and seeming to deny nothing, he promised by the consent of the council of state, that all taxes should be abolished, and no more imposed without the approbation of their tribune ; and that all they expected, should be granted, if they would but lay down their arms, and peaceably enter upon a treaty of settlement and accomodation.

But the rabble were not to be cajoled, and resolved to treat with sword in hand : they were afraid of being deluded and cheated out of their liberties : now or never, they thought was the time to insist upon their privileges ; now they had humbled the pride, as they called it, of the viceroy and the ministry, and brought them to sue for peace. His excellency observing this disposition in the people, and fearing they would grow in love with this loose way of living, judged it expedient to apply himself to the duke of Mataloni, a favourite of the people's, who was a

prisoner in Castel novo, where he had been committed upon suspicion of having caused the admiral's ship of Naples to be burnt, which was bound for Spain, and laden with money for the use of his Catholick Majesty. Him the viceroy sent for, and told him with a smiling aspect, " that " he was convinced of his innocence, and therefore gave " him his liberty, which he doubted not, but he would " employ for the service of his king, and the good of his " country ; " at the same time desiring, " that he would " ride on horseback through the principal streets of the " city, and use his good offices towards satisfying the im- " portunities of the people." This nobleman had a brother, Don Joseph Caraffa, who had a country seat near Benevento, and was well beloved by the populace ; whom the duke sent for to bear him company upon this occasion. He came, and so both of them, with many of the nobility, rode in among the rabble ; intreating them to lay down their arms, and promising them in the name of the viceroy, " that all taxes should be abolished by public authority." Mafaniello, who was at the head of the rabble, with his sword drawn, and well mounted and armed, boldly insisted upon seeing their credentials to treat. The nobility were astonished at the insolence of this fellow ; but stifling their indignation, " they desired " he would condescend to hear their proposals, and then " judge of them as he, in his great wisdom, should think " fit ; and if they should be so fortunate, as to come to " any terms of agreement, they ingaged to see the conditions executed at the hazard of their own lives."

The general and his followers were somewhat softened by these condescensions : they said, " they desired no more, than that the privileges granted to the city of Naples, by his majesty king Ferdinand, should be made good, which were afterwards confirmed by Charles V. of glorious memory ; who, by oath had promised to this faithful city, upon his investiture in the kingdom by pope Clement VII. that no new taxes or impositions should be laid on the people, or the kingdom of Naples, by himself, or his successors, without the consent of the Apostolick See : if they were imposed with that authority, they were to be obeyed : otherwise, the city and the

" the people, had the liberty to refuse the payment.
" They might, if they pleased, raise one and all with sword
" in hand, in defence of their charter, without the impu-
" tation of rebellion or irreverence to the prince who go-
" verned them. Now, since all taxes, a very few of small
" consequence excepted, have been imposed without the
" consent of his holiness, it was but just that they should be
" immediately taken off, being in themselves void and of
" no effect ; and that the people should have the original
" of the said charter, delivered into their hands, which
" was preserved in the archives of St. Laurence's church." These were their demands, and they would die rather than recede from them. The lords promised to use their best endeavours with the viceroy ; and with great courtesy, took their leave of the people. They returned to Castelnovo, and his excellency instantly called a council to advise, what was proper to be done in this extremity, and what answer was to be returned to the rabble, who still grew more violent, and threatened to set fire to every quarter of the city.

In the mean time, the archbishop, according to his accustomed vigilance, and paternal zeal to the spiritual peace and temporal happiness of the people under his charge, perceiving that it was wholly in vain to apply to the rabble, addressed himself, with great devotion to God, and implored his Almighty aid, for composing the disorders, and setting bounds to the fury and madness of the populace. His duty and loyalty to the Catholick King, as well as the principles of religion, put him upon all possible expedients to appease these disorders ; and for that end, he summoned all the religious of the city to expose the host in the churches, and to supplicate the divine assistance ; which was done with great solemnity. The miraculous blood, and the sacred head of St. Gennarro, the glorious protector of Naples, were likewise exposed ; and all orders went in solemn procession up and down the city, followed by multitudes of all ranks and conditions ; who indeed, for the present, seemed to shew great respect to the fathers, and the devotional part of the service, but abated little of their violence, when the procession was over, and the monks and friars were returned to their cells.

It was said before, that the original charter was preserved in the archives of St. Laurence. The prior of Rocella, a reverend and learned ecclesiastick, was deputed by the people to search for it. He appeared among the rabble on horseback ; and having been with the viceroy some time before, had prevailed to have a proclamation written in letters of gold, by which all the taxes were taken off. With this instrument in his hand, he rode up-and down the streets ; publishing, “ that his excellency the viceroy had “ done them the grace, in the name of his Catholick Ma-“ jesty, to put an end to the taxes.” This news was at first received by the people with loud acclamations ; and the prior was surrounded with an infinite number of boys, who leaped and danced about him, crying, “ long live the “ king of Spain, who has abolished the taxes.” In this manner they conducted him to the market-place, and they almost bore his horse from the ground. But their note was soon changed, for the prior conceiving it to be difficult to find the charter, and astonished withal at the insolence of the multitude, conveyed himself unaccountably out of the crowd, under a pretence of retiring for necessary-reasons, and betook himself for sanctuary, to the church of the Holy Apostles. The people waited sometime for his return ; but when they found he had given them the slip, they threatned him with death, if ever he fell into their hands, and flew into the utmost rage ; for they depended very much upon the wisdom and integrity of this churchman, who was a man of great humanity and condescension, and of powerful interest with the viceroy. But I have heard another account of this matter, different from what is above related ; which is, that the prior went into the archives of St. Laurence, and brought out a kind of instrument wrote on a sheep’s skin, or parchment, which he declared to be the original charter of Charles V. and this fraud he thought justifiable, having no other design, than by all possible devices, to put an end to the commotions : but the jealous populace suspecting some collusion, delivered it to some gentlemen of the long robe to be perused. The council were obliged to tell the truth, for fear of their lives ; and therefore declared the instrument to be a counterfeit ; upon which the rabble were so incensed,

censed, that had not the prior instantly fled to refuge, he had been torn to pieces, and had met with the same fate that happened some hours before, to the prince of Monte Sarchio, who innocently passing through the mob, was cruelly used and murdered. This latter, seems to carry more probability with it than the former.

By this time, the duke of Mataloni returned from the castle ; followed by great multitudes, who were rather guards than attendants, and conducted him into the great market-place. This was the general rendezvous, where the heads of the rabble took up their quarters ; and from hence, they sent dispatches to all parts of the city. This nobleman, it seems, had found in the castle, an authentick copy of the original charter ; and convincing the viceroy, that it would be useful for him to carry it out, he held it waving in his hand, and told the people, he had found the charter of their privileges. The duke had been informed with what had happened just before, to the prior of Rocella ; and therefore, not daring to say it was the original, " he declared from his knowledge, that it " was a faithful and true copy, and that they should soon " have the pleasure of seeing the original ; but for the " present it was not to be found." Masaniello took the instrument in his hand, and delivering it to some of the long robe for advice, it was read out aloud, but it gave no satisfaction : the people crying out, a cheat, a cheat. The duke was now in danger of his life, and received several blows upon the head ; but they considering, that he had not imposed upon them, but told them the real truth of the matter, they spared his life, but committed him close prisoner to the monastery of the Carmine, and appointed a famous banditto, called Perrone, to be his keeper. This fellow had been close confined in the same church, but at the beginning of the tumults, was set at liberty by the people : he had formerly been intimately acquainted with the duke of Mataloni, and pitying his misfortune, or rather desirous of getting 10,000 ducats, he undertook for him. The rabble were at first inexorable ; but at last by his earnest persuasion he obtained his release, upon condition, " that he would be ready to produce him upon " demand, and would stake down his own life for his appearance."

" pearance." Thus narrowly did this nobleman escape the fury of the multitude, and secured not only his life, but his liberty. He returned to his palace in the city, where he staid about a day or two, and then made the best of his way, with his family and attendants, to one of his seats in the country.

A certain Italian writer, (who seems to intimate, that the duke of Mataloni's release out of prison, was entirely owing to the fear the viceroy had, that the people, who very much esteemed this nobleman, would obtain his liberty by force) accounts for the treatment he received from the mob, after another manner. He tells us,

" that though the viceroy outwardly seemed to court, and
" encourage his mediation in this tumult, he intended to
" use him only as a tool, to create a misunderstanding be-
" tween the nobility and the commons; being of nothing
" so apprehensive, as of an union between these two or-
" ders of the state. That, to this end, whilst the duke
" of Mataloni was going to the market-place, in order to
" bring the rabble, if possible, to terms of agreement, four
" reformadoes, according to the instructions they had re-
" ceived privately from the viceroy, got thither before
" him; and having obtained audience of Mafaniello, and
" the other ringleaders of the sedition, declared to them,
" that they were assured from very good hands, that the
" duke of Mataloni's pretended mediation was all a sham,
" and that the instrument, which he would shew them
" presently, was a counterfeit, and only an artifice and a
" blind, concerted between him and the viceroy, on pur-
" pose to delude the people. Mafaniello, who was na-
" turally diffident, conceived instantly a deep resentment
" against the duke, and the rather, because Julio Geno-
" vino, a crafty old fox, and a promoter of the tumult,
" had often insinuated to him, that he ought to be cau-
" tious how he treated with the nobility, who, by their
" fine speeches, and the affection the people bore them,
" might gain such an ascendant over the rabble, as to be-
" come their heads and leaders, and by that means to rob
" him of the honour and glory which the cause he had
" undertaken, intitled him to. Therefore, as soon as the
" duke of Mataloni appeared in the market-place, with
" the

" the instrument in his Hand, Masaniello taking it from
" him, and looking upon it, cried out, a cheat, a cheat ;
" and at the same time, calling the duke a traitor, he
" knocked him off his horse ; thereby exposing him to
" the cruel outrages and affronts of the populace, who
" when they were tired with beating and kicking him,
" bound him hand and foot, and sent him to prison."

The rabble having thus been twice deluded, first by the prior of Rocella and then by the duke his kinsman, and firmly believing, that under colour of being serviceable to their country and labouring for peace, the nobles had no other design than that of betraying them to the ministry, launched out the most horrid curses upon the whole nobility, and talked of nothing less than sacrificing them to their resentments. On the other hand, the viceroy, being firmly persuaded, that nothing concurred more to break the unlawful measures of the rabble, than this division between the two parties, was mightily pleased that his plot had succeeded so well : but, still fearing that the nobility, who had a secret aversion to the Spanish ministry, should lay hold of this opportunity, to revenge their private injuries, by siding with the people, 'tis reported, that he caused a rumour to be spread abroad, that the nobility, to revenge the insults and cruelties which had been committed upon some of their order, intended to fall upon the rabble, with a strong body, which they were raising for that purpose. And the better to make his stratagem succeed, he ordered 12,000 fire-arms to be distributed underhand among the rabble, that they might be ready to defend themselves, when they should be attacked by these secret enemies of the government. So prevalent was the viceroy's fear, that the nobility should act in concert with the people, that he carried on several other close negotiations and intrigues, in order to raise a jealousy between them, and make a reconciliation between these two orders of the state impracticable.

The bold fisherman was advanced, as has been before observed, to be general of the mob, upon account of his courage and natural bravery. But the people, at the same time, appointed an old priest, before-mentioned, called Julio Genovino, to be always near him, as his privy coun-

counsellor. This ecclesiastick was a grave sober person, of great cunning, and of singular skill and experience in affairs of state: he loved to fish in troubled waters, and had been imprisoned for some time, for attempting to raise disturbances, and inflame the commons against the government in the year 1620. He was made elect of the people, by the duke of Ossuna, that he might the better assist that viceroy, in a conspiracy which had been concerted between them against the nobility. But upon the duke of Ossuna's disgrace, he was carried into Spain, and from thence to Otan, where he remained prisoner nineteen years. At the beginning of these tumults, he was found confined in the prison of St. James, which was forced open by the people, chiefly upon his account; and by reason of his good will and intentions to serve them, the people promoted him to this great honour, and made him prime minister. The next in power, was the banditto Perrone, a goal-bird; and by the council of these two, were transacted in a great measure, all the murders and cruelties, the burnings and devastations that followed, in every part of the city.

These two counsellors were to attend upon Mafaniello, as a curb to his fury: but instead of restraining him in his rage, they added fuel to fire; and the first thing they did, after they had entered upon their office, was to draw out a list of above sixty houses, or rather palaces, that belonged to the principal commissioners of the taxes, in order to have them burnt to the ground. The design was approved of by the generalissimo, who gave orders to some of his officers, "to make strict inquiry after all that were any way concerned in imposing or receiving the taxes; who had either advised, or lent money upon them; and acquir'd estates by farming them of the government." This was called blood sucking, squeezing, and grinding the people; and nothing could atone for the offence, but burning and destroying their houses and furniture, and bringing them upon a level with the populace; that such practices might be prevented for the time to come, and corrupt ministers, in after ages, might be terrified by just examples made of the present. Nor were these mere empty threatenings: for the people were as good as their

their words, and lighted faggots were seen blazing in every quarter, ready for execution. A great shew of discipline was kept up in these disorders; and in the midst of the confusion, they observed the most exact rules of justice and moral honesty. All was done for the publick good, and the destruction of evil ministers; and no private interest was considered: for whoever, in the rising of a house, attempted to lay hold upon any thing, to convert it to his own use, hazarded his Life. For instance, one poor fellow was immediately knocked on the head, for pilfering a small towel: another received fifty severe lashes upon the back; for stealing the crupper of a saddle: and many for concealing the most trivial things, were hanged up by the executioner, in the publick market-place, at the command of Masaniello; who scarce allowed the wretches time to lift up their hands to Heaven, and transact their affairs with their ghostly fathers. He was an enemy to his country, and the liberties of the people, who expressed the least tenderness and compassion for these most terrible calamities; and when houses and goods were on fire, to commiserate the misfortune of the sufferers, was to be reckoned accomplices, and publick thieves and robbers; as was sadly experienced by an honest man who unadvisedly, and by a natural compassion, lamenting the burning of the house and rich furniture of the duke of Caivano, by shaking his head only, and saying it was a thousand pities, was attacked by the mob, who would have torn him to pieces, if he had not providentially made his escape, through a small wicket, which for some time stopp'd the pursuit; the people storming and crying out, "where is the villain, where is he? if we catch the dog, we will teach him pity, we will strip his skin over his ears, and pound him in a mortar."

The first house that felt the fire, was a noble and magnificent structure, that belonged to one of the commissioners of the taxes, Hieronimo Fettias by name, who had acquired a large Fortune by farming the tax upon corn. His palace was one of the most regular buildings in Naples, and situated in the quarter of Porto Nuovo, and lay contiguous to the houses of the lord Mormili. Hither resort ed a multitude of the rabble, carrying dry faggots upon

their shoulders, and lighted torches in their hands : they attacked the gates, and forcing all opposition, got into the house. Every room was searched and rifled ; and all the furniture was thrown out of the windows into the street ; consisting of silver plate, vast quantities of pewter and brass, chairs, tables, carpets, glasses, tapestries, and household-stuff of all kinds : they broke open the closets and chests, and private drawers where his money lay. Here they found many bags of gold and silver, jewels, chains and bracelets of great value. All was thrown out and carried into the publick market-place in triumph, and there hurled without distinction into a huge fire made for the purpose, and all consumed to ashes : the rabble of men, women, and children, dancing about the pile, with clamorous outcries and acclamations, and saying : “ burn ‘‘ them down to a cinder : these goods are got out of our ‘‘ heart’s blood ; and as they burn, so may the souls and ‘‘ bodies of those blood-suckers who own them fry in ‘‘ the fire of hell !”

This tragedy being ended, the rabble ran furiously to the house of Felix Basil, which they resolved to rifle from the top to the bottom. This man was originally of a mean extraction and employment ; being at first, no more than a poor baker, who used to carry his bread upon his shoulder, up and down the streets of Naples : but applying himself with great dexterity, to publick business and dealing in the funds, he acquired immense riches. He was a great favourite of the viceroy’s ; and had built a fine house near the Spirito Santo, where he lived in as much splendor and magnificence, as any man in the city. The people assembled about the gates in great multitudes, with lighted torches in their hands. They soon made an entrance ; and stripping the rooms as they went along, they threw out of the windows and balconies, all the furniture, household-stuff, writings and books that were of great value : there were thirty two trunks hurled out into the street ; and some of them bursting open, by the violence of the fall, there were discovered things of the richest and most costly workmanship ; such as cloth of gold, and tissues, the finest embroideries, and noble tapestries, which perfectly astonished the eyes of the beholders, but yet the

the mob was so far from preserving these valuable effects, that they took them, with a cabinet full of pearls, and other precious stones, and threw them into a pile, to all which they set fire, and burnt it before the gate, without saving so much as a rag upon pain of death ; the rabble all the while dancing about the flames, with the loudest outcries and acclamations.

These dreadful conflagrations continued for the space of five hours without intermission. And when there was no more fuel for the fire, the mob drove furiously towards the house of Antonio de Angelis, a counsellor of state, who had been elect of the people, in the time of Monterra. This man, to his misfortune, had joined with the viceroy in the imposition of many new taxes, and was violent in putting in execution the laws against such as were backward in paying them. He had frequently been admonished by his friends, to secure his goods, and use all possible precautions to defend his palace from firing : but he was indolent upon the occasion, and neglected the advice : for it seems, the day before, the rabble contented themselves, with forcing and carrying away one of his gates ; and he thought their resentments would stop here, and that they would attempt no further violence against him : besides, his exceeding gravity, and the veneration, he supposed was due to a gentleman of the long robe, he thought would be a protection against future ravages : but he was miserably mistaken in his notions ; and his unfortunate destiny cast a mist before his eyes : for the rabble, with their usual fury, assembled before his house, furnished with flaming torches and blazing faggots, and soon forced their way through the doors. This palace was finely furnished ; and the pictures, jewels and household goods were of an immense value ; which instead of inducing their regard, served only to increase their rage. These things, they cried, were the blood of the poor people of Naples : and all without distinction, was immediately destined to the fire. Every corner of the house was soon in a blaze : nothing was left unconsumed : and what was the more to be lamented, the pleas, the charters, the writings and processes of both poor and wealthy persons, that were committed to his care, being a pleader at the bar, were reduced

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ed to ashes. A library, consisting of a choice collection of curious books, were destroyed ; and a fine cabinet with many thousand crowns, was thrown into the flames. Two rich coaches, four beautiful horses, and two mules were unmercifully burnt : and to inflame the fire, the people threw bottles of oil, and other combustible materials into it, which made them sport and diversion ; and they danced about these dreadful ruins, as if they had been celebrating a festival. In the pantry, the larder and kitchen, they found the choicest provisions of all sorts and many large jars of pickles, and chests of sweetmeats, which were all consumed ; no one presuming to save the least morsel for his own use, or to have a taste for any of these delicacies. We have already taken notice, how great a shew of discipline, and private disinterestedness, was kept up by the mob, in these terrible desolations, as if they abhorred the thoughts of spoil and plunder : as another instance of which, a boy having taken a piece of bacon, as if he designed to convey it away, had like to have been torn to pieces, and with much ado escaped with his life. In this havock, there was above ten thousand crowns of good silver destroyed ; besides vast quantities of plate that was double gilt. The fire of this house was so great, that being in the night-time, it enlightened the whole place ; and every corner of the street was as clear, as if it had been noon-day.

The next house that fell a sacrifice to the people's fury, was the palace of Antonio Mirabella, another pleader at the bar, and a Neapolitan cavalier in the suburb of Mayds. He was surprized in his bed, so suddenly, that he was forced to jump out at a back window in his shirt ; and so with great difficulty made his escape ; for a musket ball narrowly missed him as he fled. However, his house and all his rich furniture was consumed : all was devoted to the voracious Flames : the very walls were pulled down, and scarce one stone was left standing upon another. This fire continued above three hours.

The destruction that follow'd this, was a magnificent house of Andrea Anaclerio, elect of the people. He was before assaulted by the boys, and pelted with stones. But wisely foreseeing the danger that was like to ensue, he had

had removed his rich furniture, and all his goods of value ; so that the mob, breaking violently into his house, found it stripped ; and enraged with the disappointment, they instantly clapped fire to the four corners, and immediately the whole building was in a flame, which raged horribly for four hours : the terror and rage of the flames, perfectly astonished the beholders : but the fury of the prime incendiaries was nothing abated ; and the building was soon levelled with the very ground.

While the people were thus employed in these dreadful executions, and burning the possessions of the publick thieves, as they called them, the viceroy was exceedingly troubled at these combustions, and passionately desired, by all possible means to appease their fury : for the whole city looked like a continued tract of flames ; and nothing less was to be expected than utter ruin and devastation. Methods of accommodation were consulted, and the collateral council, and the councils of state and of war advised seriously, upon these sad calamities : upon the whole, after many debates, it was resolved as the best expedient, that his excellency should command four regiments of foot, to reinforce that body that was already placed in defence of the castle : and this order was immediately put in execution.

The next resolution was, that a legal instrument should be printed, and affixed in the publick places of the city : which should absolutely abolish all taxes and impositions, and a general pardon be secured to the offenders. As soon as this instrument was published, it was sent into the great market-place, that the populace might see and read it, and so disperse and return to their obedience. But these expedients produced no good effect ; because the pardon was not so fully express'd as to satisfy the people, who were afraid of an after-reckoning, if the conditions and articles were not perfectly in form, or could have been evaded : so that all was undone again, and the treaty broken off. This disappointment much affected the viceroy, who resolved if possible, to renew the treaty : but, observing that the nobility were become odious to the people, and had he made use of their mediation, the contents would rather have been augmented than suppressed;

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ed; he therefore thought it more prudent to employ two of the principal favourites of the populace, in whom he could entirely confide; and to this end he sent for Andrea Martelione, and Onosico Palma, gentlemen who were judged very suitable for the purpose, and after his excellency had advised with them upon the present posture of affairs, he recommended the whole management of an accommodation to their prudence and care; and having promised them great rewards in case they succeeded, he gave them a commission and full power to treat.

They undertook the affair, and immediately applied to to the chief leaders of the tumult; and with all the arts of address and popularity, recommended to them the study of peace and loyalty, and promised them, a full indemnity for all that had already passed: but these popular orators made little impression upon the enraged mob: therefore they instantly returned to the viceroy, and told him in plain terms, " That it was impossible to allay, or " put an end to the disorders, without delivering into the " hands of the people, the original charter of Charles V. " which contained a confirmation of their privileges." His excellency, who from the beginning, had omitted no opportunity of healing the breaches, resolved to gratify them in their demands, especially in this point; and without hesitation used his utmost diligence, to search into the publick records, and discover where this charter of privileges was to be found. To this end, he dispatched some of the nobility, and the elect of the city, attended by don Joseph Maria Caraciolo, a Theatin, a person of great courage and learning, and respected for his singular piety and austere life; who was active upon all occasions, to suppress these seditions, and much devoted to the service and interest of his king and country.

While the ministers of the government, were thus solicitous for the publick peace, Mafaniello, as the general of the mob, was issuing out his commissions to support the defection. He sent out his orders, in the name of the people of Naples, " that all the merchants, and the several companies of the city, should be ready with compleat arms, at an hour's notice, for the recovery of the publick liberty." He had about him a number of men,

as a body guard, and a train of well appointed horsemen followed him. With these, and an incredible number of the rabble on foot, he marched through the principal streets; and when he came to the houses of any suspected persons, of what quality soever, he broke in, and searched for arms and ammunition, which were delivered him with an ill will by the owners, whether nobility, merchants or officers of the city. By this method, he furnished himself and his followers with many thousands of harquebuzes, carbines, muskets, pistols and other fire-arms: and among the rest, he found nine pieces of artillery which a merchant had in his house; and which he receiv'd as a pledge from the government, for the payment of some thousands of ducats. He took seven great cannons out of a ship, which he disarmed in the Mole: for this purpose, he was furnished with a new galley, well provided, and making up to the vessel, he sent a summons to the captain, to deliver her up; and upon refusal, he threatened to set her on fire: the officer, perceiving it was to no purpose to resist, surrendered and delivered him the great guns, which were placed by Masaniello, at the entrance of the leading streets of the city. He had his emissaries in all quarters, who brought him intelligence; and being informed by them, that Mazola, a Genoa merchant, had good store of arms in his house, they broke open the gates, and finding 4000 musquets, he distributed them among the people, especially among those that dwelt in the quarters of Santa Maria il Parete. After he and his mirmadons had ransacked the house, they clapped lighted torches to the four corners, and consumed it down to the foundation.

The good archbishop being greatly affected with these sad calamities, and finding that all offers of accommodation were ineffectual, and that the commotions advanced every hour with more fury, he resolved to try once more what impression the reverence, and solemnity of religion, would make upon the people: and to that end, he ordered a general procession, in which he would assist himself, accompanied by the Theatins, and the religious of St. Hierom, of the congregation of the Oratorio. But not being certain that it would be agreeable to the people, he thought it convenient to sound their inclinations, be-

sore he executed his design. He used great prudence on this occasion, for he considered, that when the religious went in procession before in a solemn manner, the populace paid little or no regard to their sacred rites ; for tho' the design of them was, as they said, very commendable, yet, they had at present other busnels upon their hands of the utmost concern : they were reforming the government and abolishing the taxes ; so that they had not leisure to follow their devotions : and besides they observed, that when the taxes and impositions were re-laid, there were no processions to be seen then, when they were necessary to deprecate the divine judgments ; and they were resolved they should have none of those ceremonies now the impositions were going to be put down. The archbishop was informed of these rumours, but nothing discouraged, he sent to the impositors of St. Paul and of the Apostles, both which belonged to Theatin churches ; and desired they would apply themselves to the populace, and take with them some of the secular priests of the greatest birth and eminence. The世俗s of the greatest interest and authority, were don Carlo de Bologna, and don Diego de Mendoza, who with the impositors, went in their coaches with great gravity to the piazza of the great market-place, to observe the humour of the people ; particularly to persuade them, if possible, to admit of a procession, and that the archbishop had no other views, than the service and satisfaction of the city. Upon applying to the mob, these venerable intercessors were in danger of being insulted : but the heads of the sedition protected their persons from violence ; withal telling them positively, " that they did not dispute the zeal of the archbishop, " to serve and assist them in the recovery of their liberties : for his good wishes, they were obliged to him ; " but as for a procession, they apprehended it not at all proper at that time ; and they advised his eminence, by all means to desist ; for they could not be answerable for the consequences, if the priests, or the religious should receive any violence, or had their persons or characters injured : the multitude was in a ferment, and the dignity of the church might be profaned in times of such distraction : the city was full of armed-men, with no other

other designs, said they, but the publick good; and perhaps mischief might follow: therefore they presented their duty to his eminence, and prayed, that instead of a procession, he would expose in the church, the Holy Host, and order publick orisons for forty hours"

The fathers and gentlemen being returned to the cardinal archbishop, gave him an account of their disappointment; related to him what they proposed, and in what manner they were insulted: and therefore his eminence not thinking it expedient to execute his first intentions against the will of a tumultuary people; he gave orders to the said impositors, and all the heads and rectors of churches, as well secular as regular, that the blessed sacrament should be exposed, and prayers offered up in publick and private, to implore the mercy of Heaven, and to recommend to the divine Majesty, the deplorable condition of the city and kingdom of Naples. And this was performed every day with great devotion, until the death of Mafaniello.

The archbishop having dispatched these seasonable orders, it being now night, his eminence repaired to Castelnovo, to confer with the viceroy, and to consult whether any terms of accommodation could be proposed, that might avert the calamities with which the city was threatened, and give some satisfaction to the enraged multitude; who had been so used to fire and cruelty, that they seemed to delight in such sights and executions, and therefore all arts of condescension were to be used, to soften the ferocity of their present dispositions, and bring them to temper and moderation: for the better effecting of which, this worthy patriot associated to him, the apostolical nuncio, at that time residing in the kingdom. In the evening, several persons of quality, and gentlemen of the long robe and others, retired also to Castelnovo; as well for the greater safety of their persons, as to consult with the viceroy, what was most proper to be done in the present emergency.

July 9. The rabble were so inflamed with riot, and a thirst of revenge, that notwithstanding the care and vigilance of the archbishop, and other worthy patriots) as

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soon as the day began to dawn, they returned to their old busines, of burning and destroying the houses and furniture of the farmers, and others concerned in the taxes. Nothing could stop or alleviate the fury of the unbridled multitude ; which, like an impetuous torrent, bore down all opposition, sure, wherever it directed its rapid course, to bring ruin and desolation along with it.

It would be too tedious as well as disagreeable to enter upon a particular description of all the fiery executions that happened this day : enough has been already said on that subject, to give the reader a just idea of the rage of an exasperated populace. However, it may not be amiss to observe, that those cruelties, (by the people termed just revenges) were exercised upon all those that had the misfortune to be pricked down in Mafaniello's list. Among these, the palace of Valenzano, a farmer of the tax upon corn, was the first victim that fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the rabble ; in the rifling of which, were found two coffers filled with gold, which, by the command of Mafaniello, was not consumed with the rest of the precious moveables found there, but laid in bank, to serve as occasion should require. Another thing observable is, that in the midst of these distractions, the rioters had so great a regard to religion, that having found in the young duke of Caivano's palace, several rich and valuable pictures, among which were some pieces of sacred history ; the profane they burnt, but these they sent to several churches to be there set up, having first divested them of the most costly frames and jewels that adorned them, which were thrown into the common heap and burnt to ashes. Luprano indeed, and some other partisans, thinking to elude the fury of the rabble, sent all their goods and rich effects into the monastery of the nuns of the Conception, and other religious houses : but Mafaniello having notice of it, sent express orders to the said monasteries, to deliver up all the said goods in their possession, upon pain of firing. They not daring to refuse, brought out a prodigious quantity of rich moveables of all sorts, which were immediately thrown into a great fire, and consumed in the flames.

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In the mean time, and whilst the people were glutting their rage with destruction, the two original charters of privileges, granted by Charles V. and king Ferdinand, were found, and brought to the viceroy, by the chief elect of the nobles, and don Guisepppe Caracciolo, a Theatin, who had took abundance of pains in searching for them. This was a fair opportunity to put an end to the commotions. But the viceroy was dilatory, and irresolute in the business; and contented himself, with sending the archbishop to assure the people, that he would shortly relieve them according to their desire. The people finding that the treaty of accommodation went on but slowly, and apprehending from these delays, that the viceroy was not sincere in his intentions, resolved to make themselves masters of the convent and tower of St. Laurence; not only because they feared its situation, from whence their quarters in the market-place, might be molested by cannon shot; but because it was the arienal of the city; and by securing to themselves this place, they should be provided with arms and ammunition. They had made an attack upon it the Sunday before; but being then only few in number, and meeting with a vigorous opposition from some banditti, who were in the belfrey, they were forced to withdraw: but now the case was altered; for a body of about 10,000 men in arms, having surrounded the monastery, drew up in battalia, and made themselves ready for an assault, by placing two large pieces of ordnance, which they had brought with them, opposite to the tower, in order to batter it down.

The friars seeing these preparations for a siege, were filled with fear and amazement: they no sooner heard a discharge of small arms, and perceived lighted faggots ready for execution, but they forsook the convent and took to their heels; leaving only behind them, some novices, a few gentlemen, and 60 Spaniards sent thither the evening before by the viceroy, who surrendered upon condition of having their lives and cloathing granted them. The people were wonderfully pleased at this success; and immediately rush'd into the convent, and having secured all the small arms, and eighteen pieces of ordnance, that were there laid up for the service of the city:

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the former were distributed among the rabble, and the latter planted in the different quarters and streets, and a sufficient number of men appointed to attend and guard them.

All this was done by Mafaniello's special direction ; who at the same time ordered the alarm bell to ring, as well to publish the victory he had obtained, as to make the citizens rise in arms, and increase his numbers ; solemnly protesting, that he had no design to incite the people to rebellion, but only to make them ready to stand in defence of their rights and liberties. And to make his intentions yet more evident, he ordered the standard of Spain, together with the ensigns of the city, to be set up on the top of the steeple.

About this time Mafaniello having information given him by his scouts, that some Spanish forces, that were quartered in the neighbouring villages, were making towards Naples, he detached a party to meet them ; who, after having disarmed them, sent them back to their former stations ; whilst he himself marched, at the head of a considerable body, to stop the progress of 600 Germans, that were sent from Capua, by the governor of that city, to succour the viceroy. But upon the approach of Mafaniello, they laid down their arms, without offering to make the least resistance ; and surrendering themselves, they were led into the city, where the fisherman used them so well, that they went up and down the streets, crying long live the most faithful people of Naples.

The people in the mean time, were making diligent search in the archives of St. Laurence, for the original charters of Charles V. and king Ferdinand. But it being impossible for them to find 'em there, they grew more furious than ever ; committing many outrages, and firing all the goods and furniture of value they could meet with in the convent ; which the viceroy being informed of, and finding he could by no means appease them, without producing the said originals, he sent for the archbishop, and delivering them into his hands, together with a ratification of the privileges therein contained, desired them to go to the market-place, and shew them to the people.

The good archbishop, having the original charters in his Possession, made no doubt but he should soon quiet the rabble, and put an end to the troubles. Pleased with this thought, he lost no time, but went directly to the market-place, where he was received with a great deal of respect and honour by the mob, who always had a great venetation for this reverend prelate. From thence he went to the church of our blessed lady of Carmine, followed by vast numbers of people: and holding out the charters in his hand, he told them, "he hoped they would now be satisfied; for he had brought them the original charters, which they so much insisted upon, with a confirmation of all their privileges under his excellency's hand and seal." And they being at his eminence's desire read aloud, the most sensible part of the people were transported with joy, at the prospect of so many benefits they were going to enjoy, and already began to return thanks to divine providence, for bringing their unhappy distractions to a happy conclusion. But the majority of the rabble, having before been imposed upon, still suspecting the charters to be spurious, and that the archbishop might deceive them, as the duke of Mataloni and the prior of Rocella had done before, began to murmur; some of them having the insolence to ask his eminence, "If he came also to deceive them?" To this the archbishop, who was desirous at any rate, to procure peace to his desolate country, answered in the most mild and gentle terms, and endeavoured by all the arts of eloquence and persuasion, to dissipate their doubts and convince them of their error: he assured them in the most solemn manner, that the charters were genuine; and protested, "That he was so far from any design of imposing upon them, that he should think himself happy, if, with the loss of his own life, he could appeale the tumult, and gratify all their wishes." At the same time, addressing himself to Masaniello, "My dear son (says he). I do assure you, that these charters are the very same that the emperor Charles V. and king Ferdinand signed and sealed with their own hands: I do not however desire you to rely on my bare word, but rather advise you, to put them into the hands of some skilful person, to peruse

" peruse them, whilst I stay here, and let him make his
" report to the people."

" My lord, replied Masaniello, I have no reason to
" call in question your eminence's honour and goodness,
" which have been so manifest upon all occasions: I'll
" be bound for your eminence; for I am fully persuaded,
" that, like a tender shepherd, you have no other view
" in the trouble you take upon you than the welfare and
" tranquility of your flock: but for the further satis-
" faction of the people, I'll do as your eminence advises." And accordingly, having sent for Julio Genovino, the charters were delivered to him in order to be examined; who, after some time spent thereon, declared them to be the true originals desir'd. But some of the rabble understanding from their leader, that the instrument, by which the viceroy confirm'd the charters of privileges, was not so full as they expected, and fearing they might still be brought to an after-reckoning, they cried out one and all, " That it signified little, whether the charters were original or not, so long as the viceroy's ratification of them was lame and imperfect; and therefore insisted that articles of capitulation should be drawn up by some of their body, which they required should be sign'd by the vice-roy, and the several councils and tribunals of the kingdom." The cardinal archbishop was astonish'd at this demand; but however, told them, " he would send word to the viceroy, to know his pleasure therein: accordingly, his eminence dispatch'd one of the gentlemen of his chamber, to the castle, to inform his excellency with the people's pretensions. The viceroy, prudently considering, that it was to no purpose to contend with force; and being desirous to see the troubles at an end, resolv'd to put as good a face upon it as he could; and therefore returned an answer in writing, to the archbishop's message, signifying his agreement to the proposal; and withal desiring his eminence, " to let the most faithful people know, that whatever articles they should draw up, should not only be signed as they desir'd, but that they would get them ratified as soon as possible by the king of Spain.

The archbishop having communicated the viceroy's answer to the people, it was some time before they could determine

determine who to fix upon, to draw up the articles of capitulation : after much cavil and dispute, they at length pitch'd upon Genovino to be the man ; and that the articles should be read publickly the next morning in the great market-place, before they were laid before the viceroy. 'Tis said, that one of the articles proposed by the rabble, was, that the castle of St. Elmo should be deliver'd into the people's possession ; and that Mafaniello seemed to approve the motion, upon which Genovino (who had been won over by the secret promises of the viceroy) stood up and declared, "that, altho' the people might legally take up arms to maintain and defend their rights and privileges, pursuant to the determination of Pisanello, and several other the most learned doctors of laws, in the year 1547 ; yet could they not infist upon the castle of St. Elmo's being put into their hands, without incurring the imputation of rebellion. At the word rebellion, Mafaniello, who had always protested, that his only design was, to shake off the cruel yoke of taxes, and not his allegiance to the king of Spain, defin'd, that no more might be said about it, and that he had rather die, than give his consent to a demand, that should make him pats for a rebel."

This was no small proof of Genovino's influence upon the people ; to oblige them to give up an article which would have been so prejudicial to the interests of Spain, and so advantageous to the Neapolitans. But he gave a further evidence of his credit, in causing Ciccio Arpaja, his antient and intimate friend, who had been formerly condemn'd to the gallies, for being concern'd with him in the conspiracy against the nobility, in the duke of Osuna's time, to be made elect of the people. This election was proposed by Mafaniello, and approved of by the rabble, who, seeing with what zeal this retailer of fish acted for the publick good, unanimously voted Arpaja into that eminent station.

The archbishop, who had been ever since the morning in the church of Carmine, perceiving that every thing concurr'd to bring their disputes to a final accommodation, retired very late to his palace ; having first obtain'd a promise of Mafaniello, "not to execute his design, of firing

"that night, thirty-six houses of persons of quality;" among which were the palaces of the duke of Mataloni; the prior of Rocella his kinsman; Don Ferrant Carraciolo; Don Carlos Spinello; Carlos Brancaccio; Cornelius Spinola; the visitor-general; and the prince of Cellamare, chief post-master of the kingdom. And in this, the good archbishop gave an illustrious example of christian charity and forgiveness: for the persons beforemention'd, had all of them been principally concern'd, in the tumult that happened the year before, at the procession of the reliques of St. Genarro the patron of Naples, in which his eminence received many gross affronts and abuses.

July 10. Next morning early, Masaniello made a general review of the people throughout the city of Naples; wherein were found 114,000 men under arms, besides a great number of citizens who were not inrolled. In the mean time, his eminence the cardinal archbishop Filomarino waited upon the viceroy; and in a long and private conference, gave him an account of his negotiation the preceding day. From thence he went to the great market place, to be present at the reading of the treaty of accommodation, before the assembly of the people.

There were now great hopes of seeing the distractions soon at an end. The rabble, satisfied with the vengeance they had taken, and dazzled by the prospect of so many immunities and privileges they were on the point of enjoying, relaxed of their former fury, and began to wish earnestly for peace. But a fatal and unexpected accident intirely ruined these good dispositions, and blew up the flames of discord to a greater height than ever.

Just at the very time, when the market-place, as well as the church and convent of Carmine, were crowded with an infinite multitude of people, who all waited with impatience, to learn the success of the negotiation; about 500 banditti, well armed and mounted, came into the market-place, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy, upon their declaring, that they had been sent for by Domenico Petrone, and were come for the service of the most faithful people. As soon as Masaniello saw them, he thanked them for their good will; and

and desiring them to alight, appointed them different quarters of the city, where they should expect his further orders afoot: upon which, Perrone told him, he judged it much more proper, to assign them a separate standing to themselves, and by no means to dismount them; because, being on horseback, they would be much readier to assist him in case of necessity: to this Masaniello replied, that it was altogether unnecessary, and that they would be as serviceable to him on foot as on horseback. But Perrone warmly insisting upon their serving mounted, and in a body, without being able to alledge any good reason for it, Masaniello began to suspect some dark busines was in hand; and therefore peremptorily commanded the Banditti to go afoot to the quarters he assigned them, and not to stir an inch without his order. He had no sooner spoke but a musket was fired off; which Masaniello looking upon as the signal of some mischief, cried out, treason, treason, there's a plot on foot; when immediately five muskets more were fired upon him, by some of the banditti, who had hid themselves among the crowd that surrounded him: and though a bullet or two came so near to him, as to singe his shirt, yet he received not the least hurt. The people seeing their general alive, and without harm, cried out one and all, that God and the lady of Carmine had protected Masaniello; and that this miraculous deliverance of his person, was a manifest token that they approved of his undertaking: and saying so, they fell without mercy upon the banditti; and having killed thirty of them upon the spot, they pursued the rest into the church and convent of Carmine, whither they had run for refuge. Nor could the holiness of the place secure them from the people's rage; who, in an instant, turned it into a scene of blood and cruelty. Nothing was to be heard on all sides, but the piercing cries of the wounded, who, whilst they were calling for confessors, met with the stroke of death. Two of them were slain at the foot of the great altar; and another under the very seat where the archbishop was, and whither he had betaken himself to avoid this bloody riot. In short, the whole pavement was soon covered with slaughtered bodies; among which were Domenico Perrone and Gregorio Perrone, the former

having lost his life, for being an accomplice in the conspiracy, and the latter, only for being brother to the former. Capt. Antino Grossio lost his life also, having first declared, " that the banditti had been sent by the duke of Mataloni " and don Pepe Caraffa his brother, to revenge, by the " death of Masaniello, the insults he had received from the " rabble : that Domenico Perrone was privy to the plot : " and that several troops more of banditti were to come " into the city at the close of day ; who, favoured by the " night, and the confusion which the death of Masaniello " (which they looked upon as inevitable) must necessarily " create, were to fall suddenly upon the people, and cut " them into pieces."

Some authors who have written of the revolutions of Naples, have affirmed, that Perrone, Grossio, and others, deposed before they died, " that the market-place and the " convent of Carmine were undermined ; and that 15,000 " pounds of gun-powder had been conveyed under ground, " in order to blow them up, at a certain hour of the " evening, when they should be most crowded with people ; by which, 'twas computed that upwards of " 150,000 souls must have perished in the shock : that " those whom the flames should spare, were to be put to " the sword, as well by the banditti who were already " entered the city, as by several companies more, who " were appointed to join them in the evening, by order " of the duke of Mataloni and don Pepe Caraffa, the " principal authors of the conspiracy." But whoever strictly examines these things will find, that they are not only false in fact, but even absurd and inconsistent with reason. For, it is certain that Perrone was absolutely incapable of making these depositions ; for the rabble, when they found him hid in the convent, (where he had betaken himself as soon as he perceived the banditti had miscarried in their attempt) killed him outright, and cut off his head, without giving him so much as time to speak one word : neither is there any reasonable man, who can suppose, that in less than twenty four hours, and at a juncture, when the suspicious rabble were always upon their guard, the conspirators could have found means to dig so many mines, and stow them with such vast quantities of powder without

without being perceived. Not but I am very sensible that these pretended depositions, however false and ridiculous, were palmed upon, and credited by the ignorant rabble, and even countenanced by Mafaniello; who, to give the better colour to an imposture, that served so well to inflame the people's resentment and hatred against the nobility, contented himself with inflicting no other punishment on one or two of the banditti, than perpetual banishment; upon pretence, that they had made the fore-mentioned, and other important discoveries.

The rabble had soon put to death 150 of the banditti; and having dragged their carcases through all the streets and kennels of the city, they brought their heads to Mafaniello, who commanded them, together with those of Perrone, and his brother, to be fixed upon poles in the middle of the great market-place: and this order was executed accordingly.

One might have imagined that the spilling of so much blood, would atone for the greatest inhumanity, and that the people, after having sacrificed so many lives to their just resentments, would have now relented and gone no further. But Mafaniello, esteeming his work but half compleated, so long as he had not in his power the duke of Mataloni and don Pepe Caraffa, used his utmost endeavours to find out the place where they lay concealed; being fully determined to glut his revenge with the death of two brothers, who had conspired against his life. To this end, he ordered several companies of horse and foot, to go in search of the rest of the conspirators, who had fled to several churches and monasteries for the benefit of protection; but more especially, in Santo Maria de la nova, where he was informed, that don Pepe Caraffa, and the Prior of Rocella had also betaken themselves to avoid, if possible, the fury of an enraged populace.

Just as the companies were disposing themselves to march, or rather to fly, where their general's commands and their own animosities led them, advice was brought to Mafaniello, that the duke of Mataloni was at St. Efrem, which is a church belonging to the Capuchin friars. The generalissimo was mightily pleas'd at this news; and resolving not to lose, for want of sufficient force, this opportunity

portunity of getting into his power, an enemy to whom he bore a most inveterate hatred, he added a fresh supply to the former detachment, which together made up a body of 4,000 men all armed ; and dispatched them to St. Efrem, with positive orders, to bring the duke to him alive or dead. But the duke, having timely notice of their march by a spy, had the good fortune to make his escape in a friar's weeds, and got safe out of the city, where he took horse, and made the best of his way to Benevento.

The mob being come to St. Efrem, and finding themselves disappointed, sent several ways after him, in hopes to overtake him : but their pursuit was in vain ; for being well mounted, he had made such speed, that they could get no tydings of him. Upon which, they bend their course towards the monastery of Santa Maria, where Don Pepe Caraffa, and the prior of Rocella had retir'd ; who, next to the duke of Mataloni, were the principal objects of the people's rage and indignation. As the blood-thirsty rabble went in pursuit of these, they met some of the duke's pages and other domesticks, whose unlucky fate had brought in their way, and whom, without having any regard to their innocence or their prayers, they murder'd every one upon the spot. This tragedy being ended, with all possible haste, they continued their march to Santa Maria, where the prior of Rocella, who foresaw the approaching danger, was exhorting his brother Don Pepe "to forfeake the con-
" vent, and fly with him to some place of greater saftey :" But he, over-ruled by his hard destiny, and imagining himself as safe there as in any other place, refused to go : whereupon the prior told him that since he was resolved, he wish'd him a happy deliverance ; and after a short embrase, with tears in his eyes, he took his leave. Scarce was the prior gone, when the furious rabble surprized the place ; and bursting open the gates, rushed into the monastery, stripping and examining every room and corner of it one after another. Don Pepe being now, though too late, sensible of his mistake and of the danger that threatened him, secreted himself in the most retired part of the monastery, from whence he wrote a letter to the viceroy, informing him with the straights he was put to, and requesting his excellency, to command a cannon or two to be fired

fired without shot upon the mob, only to frighten them and make them disperse, whilst he should attempt an escape. This letter he delivered into the hands of a secular priest, a confident of his, promising him "a great reward, " if he could but convey it to the castle." But as ill-luck would have it, the priest was stopp'd as he was going out, and strictly searched by the rabble, who, finding the letter in one of his shoes, dispatch'd him upon the spot and went in quest of Caraffa, who, they were now positively assured, was within. This unfortunate man, seeing himself so closely pursued, and knowing, that the greatest favour he could expect from the unmerciful populace, was present death, resolved to make another push for his life : and to this purpose, having first changed his habit, he threw himself out of a back-window, from whence he stole into a house hard by the convent, and hid himself under a bed. But his reprieve was but very short ; for wether he was seen to go in, or whether (as some say, and is very likely) a woman that lived there, discovered him to the people in hopes of a recompence, he was soon found out by the mob, and dragg'd into the street : where, after he was cover'd over with wounds, one Michel de Sanctis, a butcher's son, cut off his head with a chopping-knife.

The Joy of the rabble was as great upon this occasion, as if they had obtained some signal victory. They fixed the head of Caraffa upon a pike, and bore it in triumph to the market-place, (the body being dragg'd through the kennels after it) crying as they went along, " thus may all those perish, that are traitors to the most faithful people." The head was presented to Masaniello, who taking it into one hand, and striking it several times with a cane which he held in the other, made a speech to it, wherein he upbraided Caraffa with the pride and cruelty which he had shewn upon several occasions, as tho' he had been still living. This ill judg'd reproof being ended, Masaniello ordered the Heads of all the banditti, which were taken in Santa Maria de la Nova, and other monasteries, to be fixed upon poles in the market-place, with those that were exposed there already : but the head of Caraffa, he commanded to be inclos'd in an iron grate ; and, together with the foot that kick'd the archbishop in the procession already.

already mentioned, to be nailed to a post erected for that purpose, without the gate of St. Gennaro, facing the duke of Mataloni's palace, with this inscription underneath,

DON PEPE CARAFFA,
REBEL to his COUNTRY,

And Traitor to the most faithful People.

This tragical adventure made different impressions upon the minds of those who were witnesses of it. The people beheld it with unspeakable pleasure and satisfaction ; but the nobles were equally struck with fear and horror at the thought of it : they knew not what to think, or what to expect, after such a terrible example had been made of one of their order, who at other times, used to make the whole city, nay, the very kingdom tremble at his name : and what added still more to their sorrows, was, that since the discovery of the banditti's plot, the better sort of citizens, who, as yet, had had no hand in the tumult, began to rise in arms, and joined themselves to the rabble. The viceroy, indeed, put a more favourable construction upon this event ; and was even of opinion, that the consequence would undoubtedly turn to the advantage of Spain. He supposed the people were so wholly taken up in wreaking their hatred and their rage upon the nobility, that they would of course drop their first design, and make no further incroachments upon the sovereign authority ; and that the rupture, which the death of don Pepe Caraffa, would certainly occasion between the nobles and the commons, would reduce them to the necessity of chusing the king of Spain for umpire of their differences ; who had been heretofore equally the aversion of both these orders of the state. From all which, he drew this conclusion, that in case one of the factions should declare itself against the king of Spain, the other in opposition would stick by him ; and consequently he could not lose the whole, so long as one half should be on his side.

Whilst the viceroy was making these political reflections, Mafaniello, from his tribunal in the market-place, environ'd with heads and bloody carcases, was thundering against the

the nobility : and not satisfied with the death of Caraffa, he issued out a proclamation, whereby he declared the duke of Mataloni, an enemy to the most faithful people ; promising a reward of thirty thousand crowns, with the ransom of one hundred and fifty outlaws, for the apprehending of him. As the fisherman was grown very diffident and suspicious since the late discovery of the conspiracy against his person, he was fully persuaded that it had been concerted by; or at least, carried on with the consent and approbation of the viceroy ; and therefore he determined to reduce him to such straits, as should at once revenge him, and force the viceroy to accept of whatever conditions he should think fit to impose upon him ; but at the same time took all possible precautions, to screen himself from the resentment and artifices of the nobility, against which, he thought he could not be too well fortify'd. To this end, he published an order, " prohibiting upon pain of death and firing, all persons to convey, or cause to be conveyed, any provisions or victuals of any kind whatsoever, into the castle," where the viceroy was in a manner imprisoned, with the dutchess his wife, the collateral council, and the council of state, and the major part of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom : and, as if he designed to make them perish with thirst, as well as hunger, he caused all the aqueducts to be cut off, that used to serve for the conveyance of water to the castle. To this order he added several others, " commanding upon pain of death and firing, that all the nobles who resided in the city, should deliver up their arms into the custody of certain officers appointed for that purpose : that the city gates should be all shut up, and no body suffered to pass or repass, without a special order from the general : that diligent search should be made after the banditti who were concealed in Naples : and, that in order to prevent them from making any attempt in the night-time, great piles of faggots and stubble should be burnt in all the streets and publick places : that all the windows throughout the city and suburbs, should be illuminated, and the people be up in arms."

All these orders were as punctually and as assiduously executed, as the great sultan's commands are in Con-

stantinople. The blood of Caraffa had so prodigiously strengthened the fisherman's authority, that commanding and being obeyed, was to him but one and the same thing : for, what the people did out of love to their chief, the nobles did through fear of him. So that he had no sooner issued his orders, but in an instant all the houses in Naples, as well those of noblemen as others, put up lights in their windows : whole loads of timber, and other combustible materials, were piled up, and set on fire in every street and corner ; and the night was soon changed into bright day. The other orders were all obeyed with equal exactness and celerity. But nothing more evidently discovers, how much deference was paid to the commands of Mafaniello, than the strictnes with which another order of his was universally complied with, injoining under a severe penalty, all persons of what condition or dignity soever, to walk in cuerpo, or without upper garments ; for fear any disguised, or suspected persons, should conceal any arms under them. This order was no sooner published, but men of all professions, as well faicks as ecclesiasticks, such as gentlemen of the long robe, magistrates, priests, judges, bishops, canons, and dignitaries of the cathedral churches, all appeared in the streets in this ridiculous and indecent manner. Nay, the very purple of the cardinals Trivultio and Bilonarino, was obliged to submit itself to the ordinance of a retailer of fish. But what is yet most extraordinary, even the women were enjoined by this order, to wear no tails to their gowns, nor come abroad without having their petticoats tucked up above their knees ; it having been discovered, that several men had disguised themselves in women's apparel, for the more secret conveyance of arms to the outlaws, and other enemies of the people.

Mafaniello having issued out these seasonable orders, and put in practice all other necessary expedients, to prevent the nobility or the outlaws, from executing any design they might have formed ; he dispatch'd couriers to several parts of the country, and to most of the towns and villages round about ; ordering them, to send the choicest of their men well armed for the defence of the city and suburbs. All obeyed ; and vast numbers soon flocked from all the adjacent

adjacent places, in order to list themselves under the fisherman's banners. In short so great was the people's regard for him, and so prevailing the terror which he had struck into the hearts of the nobility, by the severe example he had made of Caraffa; that whilst the former were flying to execute the commands of their leader, the latter were so far from opposing them, that excepting those who had retired to Castelnovo with the viceroy, they had, for the most part, intrenched themselves within their own country seats, waiting, under the most dismal apprehensions, the issue of this grand affair.

July 11. The viceroy seeing that Masaniello treated with him sword in hand, and apprehending that the storm which had so long hung over his head, should at last burst upon him and overwhelm him, resolved upon any terms to conclude the treaty of accommodation; not doubting but time and policy would furnish him with an opportunity of breaking any engagements, that should prove a prejudice to his own, or the interests of Spain. But, to effect it with success, he judged it expedient, to remove first of all the suspicion, which the people had, of his keeping a correspondence with the conspirators: and to this end he writ a letter to the archbishop, wherein he disclaimed his having any part in the late conspiracy, protesting his utmost abhorrence of it, and promising to deliver up into the people's hands, as many of the banditti as he should lay hold of: he concluded with assuring his eminence, that he had nothing so much at heart, as the peace of the city, and the good of the people; and therefore entreated him to finish the treaty as soon as possible.

This letter, which the archbishop shewed to Masaniello, had its desired effect. The people began to believe the viceroy was innocent, and abated very much of their former rage and insolence. But his excellency willing to give them still a more authentick testimony of the sincerity of his intentions, issued out an order, " commanding upon " pain of death all the banditti that were in the city and " suburbs, to depart instantly; and proscribing all persons " that should harbour and conceal them in their ha-
" bitations."

Thus, the treaty, which had been interrupted by so many different and unlucky accidents, was now in a fair way of being brought to a happy conclusion, through the archbishop's care, or rather, the subtlety and craft of Genovino. This old fox, who, tho' a sworn enemy to the government, had still more ambition in him than animosity, wavered almost as soon as he engaged himself in the sedition : for, whether as is usual with most heads of factions, he joined himself to the malecontents, only in hopes of enriching himself with the spoils of the state ; or, whether he did not think it safe, to trust to the humours of an inconstant rabble ; he had not been long near Ma'aniello's person, as his counsellor, before he listened to the secret promises the viceroy made him of favour and preferment. The viceroy having made sure of him, he carried on his intrigues with the greater efficacy, inasmuch as he had always professed an inveterate aversion to the Spaniards ; and having, according to the instructions given him by the duke of Arcos, fomented the misunderstanding between the nobles and the commons, he now managed with great art and dexterity, the treaty of accommodation in favour of the Spanish court. But more of this hereafter.

Whilst the archbishop and Genovino were putting the last hand to the capitulations, another accident happened that had like to have frustrated their labour, and broken off the treaty ; so true it is, that the most critical interval of time, is that which is taken up in capitulating. The gallies of Naples being discerned at the peak of Posillippe, which is at no great distance from the city, the people immediately took the alarm, suspecting they were freighted with troops ; and had been sent for on purpose by the viceroy. But the archbishop being informed of their fears, and knowing of what ill consequence it would be, to give the people umbrage at this juncture, writ to the viceroy, desiring his excellency to order the gallies to keep out at sea, and not to enter the harbour till the treaty should be finished and the distractions brought to a period. The viceroy very much approved the archbishop's advice, and presently sent him an order for Doria, the admiral ; whereby he enjoined him not to make for the harbour

bour to land, but to do in all things as Masaniello should require. As soon as Doria had received this order, he sent one of his officers to pay his respects to Masaniello, and to receive his commands: upon which, the general signified his pleasure, that he might ride at anchor within a mile of the port, provided he suffered none of his men to come ashore. The people were wonderfully pleased with this proceeding of the viceroy, who thereby intirely removed the suspicition which the sudden arrival of the galleys might justly create in them.

The treaty of accommodation was at length perfected and fairly drawn up by Genovino; and upon its being read, received the approbation of Masaniello, and the other ringleaders of the rabble. The archbishop (who since Tuesday-morning resided altogether in the convent of Carmine, that he might be at hand to negotiate with the people) deputed father Francisco Filomarino, his eminence's brother, with the articles to the viceroy, in order to their being signed, not only by his excellency, but also by all the members and officers of the collateral council and the council of state; and at the same time, to acquaint him with the people's desire, that the treaty, after its being signed, might be solemnly published in the cathedral church, in presence of his excellency, and all the several orders and tribunals of the city.

The duke of Arcos read, and maturely weighed the articles that were brought him to be signed; the substance of which was, " That the people should from that time forward enjoy all the benefits, privileges, and immunities granted to them by the emperor Charles V. and king Ferdinand, according to the purport and meaning of the original charters, which should hereafter remain in their hands: that all excesses and outrages, committed from the 7th of July, when the insurrection began, to the day of the date of these articles, should be pardoned by a general amnesty: that the elect, as well as the counsellors and deputies of the people, and other inferior officers therein specified, should be chosen every six months, by the commons, without need of further confirmation: that the said elect should have as many voices as all the nobility together, as it used to be, before

" fore they had been stripped of this privilege by don
" Frederick, and which the most Catholick king Ferdi-
" nand had, in the year 1505, promised to restore to
" them : that the viceroy should cause the said articles to
" be ratified by the king of Spain, within three months
" after their publication ; and that they should be engrav-
" ed in marble, and set up in the middle of the great
" market place : that the people should not lay down
" their arms, till the said confirmation of their privileges :
" and lastly, that in case they could not obtain such a ra-
" tification, and the execution of the said articles and pri-
" vileges, they might with impunity, rise in arms, and
" strive to redress themselves, without being deemed guil-
" ty of rebellion, or irreverence to the king of Spain."

Altho' the viceroy knew well enough, that these articles
must inevitably ruin fourscore and ten thousand persons,
that were concerned in the taxes ; and what was still worse,
that the ministers hereafter, could not by their own autho-
rity raise any more subsidies, or oppress the subject, to sup-
port their ambition and luxury ; yet, he signed them with a
smiling countenance, and gave them to the collateral
council, and the council of state, who, having signed them
also in their turns, his excellency returned them to father
Francisco, with the following letter to the archbishop.

" Most eminent,

" **T**H E success with which it has pleased God to
" crown your eminence's negotiations, gives me
" the greatest pleasure and satisfaction : nor is it less than
" what I always expected from your lordship's great care
" and zeal for the publick good. I congratulate your
" eminence thereupon ; and beseech you to compleat
" the work which you have so happily begun, by a solemn
" promulgation of the treaty, as desired by the people.
" Your eminence knows of what importance it is, to per-
" form this ceremony as soon as possible, and that, the
" delay of it, cannot but be attended with many fatal
" consequences : I need not therefore give your eminence
" any further caution concerning it. As for my own part,
" as nothing is so dear to me, as the peace of the kingdom,
" and

" and the good of the people, I have chearfully granted
" them all their demands, and am still ready to give them
" what further satisfaction they can desire. God preserve
" your eminence many years.

" I am

" The greatest Servant
" of your Eminence,

From *Castelnovo*,
this 11th day
of July, 1647.

" *The Duke of Arcos.*

Father Francisco having delivered the articles of capitulation sign'd by the viceroy, into the hands of the archbishop, together with his excellency's letter, told him, that the viceroy desired passionately to see Masaniello, and pray'd his eminence to manage an interview between them. The archbishop therefore, in compliance with the viceroy's request, used his best endeavours to persuade Masaniello, who, as well as the other leaders, seemed at first not a little averse to it; but his eminence, by the force of his persuasions, at length prevailed; and it was appointed, that the articles of capitulation should be read publickly about two o'clock in the afternoon, and that Masaniello should afterwards go, in company with the archbishop, to pay his respects to the viceroy.

It was no sooner publickly known that the treaty was concluded and signed, and that Masaniello was to go to the palace, to make a visit to the viceroy, but the market-place, as well as the church and convent of the Carmelites, were filled with multitudes of the rabble, who, according to their natural inconstancy, which makes them susceptible of every new impression, by their huzza's and acclamations of joy, approved that peace, which, but a few hours before they were so averse to. The capitulations were read aloud, by a notary in the church of Carmine; the cardinal archbishop, being there present, with Masaniello, Genovino, Arpaja the new elect, and infinite numbers of people, who, by their repeated acclamations, seemed to give their assent to them and seal the peace.

Genovino

80 *The RISE and FALL of*

Genovino then went up into the pulpit ; and after having made a short speech, wherein he extoll'd " the advantages of peace, and exhort'd the assembly to give God thanks, for his wonderful mercies in terminating the distractions, and reducing the city to a state of peace and tranquillity," he came down again : and the whole was concluded with a *te deum*, which was sung by two choirs of musicians whose voices were accompanied with the harmony of all kind of instruments.

The ceremony being ended, the archbishop, and the chief officers of the people set forward for the viceroy's palace. Mafaniello, who, at the archbishop's persuasion, had laid aside his mariner's drefs, appeared on horseback, whith a magnificent habit, a tow'ring plume of feathers in his hat, and a drawn sword in his hand ; and thus accouter'd, rid before the archbishop's coach : his brother, also in a rich embroide red suit, rid on the right-side of his eminence ; and Arpaja tribune of the commons on the left : Julio Genovino came last, followed by 160 companies of horse and foot, consisting in all of about 50,000 men. It is impossible to describe or tell how many praises and blessings were bestow'd upon the fisherman, as he pas'd along the streets, by one and the other sex, who out of a grateful sense of the great deliverance he had wrought for them, justly honoured him with the glorious and deserved title of **THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY**. Nor did they express their gratitude by their words more than by their actions. The men strewed the way before him, with palm and olive branches ; and the ladies from the windows and balconies, which were hung with the richest silks and tapestry, curtesied as he went by, and threw down flowers and garlands, which they had made on purpose for the occasion : the air was fill'd with the ravishing harmony of peaceful and soft-sounding instruments, and nothing was to be heard, but universal tounds of joy and triumph.

Mafaniello being arrived, amidst so much praise and applause, at Castelovo, the captain of the viceroy's guard came out to salute him, in the name of his excellency, and bid him a welcome to the palace. Mafaniello gravely, and in a few words return'd the compliment ; and then making

ing a sign to the people, that they should be silent, he addressed himself to them in the manner following:

My dear Companions and Countrymen!

LET us joyfully offer up our praises and thanksgivings to God, and the most gracious lady of Carmine ; for the recovery of our former liberty ; that dear, that precious liberty, which makes the memory of those glorious monarchs, Ferdinand and Charles V. to be of so great veneration amongst us. Now shall we see revived those golden days which made our fore-fathers glad under their auspicious sway : like them, we shall be— nay, we are already like them, exempt and free from all taxes and impositions : no more shall we groan under the cruel and intollerable oppression of inhumane, blood-thirsty governors : no longer toil and slave, like beasts of burden, to feed the pride and luxury of ambitious and haughty tyrants : henceforth, every man shall enjoy the fruits of his own labour and industry, and peace and plenty shall for ever flourish in Naples, I see, my friends, a solemn joy sits upon all your brows ; and well may you rejoice for so noble an acquisition, for, who is the brute that has the publick good so little at heart, as not to overflow with gladness upon this great occasion ? if there be any such, let them die like dogs, unpitied, unlamented ; and may an everlasting brand of infamy be fixed upon their names. As for us, my beloved countrymen, let us from this moment banish all sorrow from our hearts : let us ever commemorate this great, this happy day, in which we recover our rights, our privileges, our freedom, our lives, our all. Does not this sudden, this blessed change surprize you my dear associates ? lost in transport and amazement, do you not look upon it as on a pleasing dream, and almost doubt whether you are awake ? yes, I know you do. But see my friends, (holding out the original charters) this is no illusion : behold here, the sacred and substantial pledges of those immense benefits we boast ; this the gift of the emperor Charles V. and this, of royal Ferdinand ; whose great shades, even now, rejoice, to see us, their after-subjects, happy in the possession of those

“ blessings which we derive from them ; Dreams vanish,
“ away in an instant, but these shall stand for ever——
“ But do not think that I dwell thus on the great advanta-
“ ges, which, by my toils and fatigues, I have procur'd
“ for you, to enhance the merit of my actions, in hopes
“ of being rewarded for them : no, I esteem the pleasure
“ and the glory of being instrumental to the good of my
“ country, a far greater recompence than all the wealth
“ in the universe ; and, that that alone has spurred me on,
“ and been the sole aim of this successful undertaking,
“ let his eminence the archbishop witness for me : he
“ has experienc'd my disinterestedness, in my refusal of
“ the two hundred crowns a month, which, in the first
“ day of the revolution, he offered to settle upon me du-
“ ring life, if I would but calm your resentments, and
“ and make you desist from your just pretensions. Nor,
“ even at this time, should I have thrown off my tatter'd
“ weeds, to assume this gaudy magnificence, had not his
“ eminence, for decency's sake, and upon pain of excom-
“ munication, obliged me to it. No, no, I am still Ma-
“ saniello the fisherman ; such was I born, such have I
“ liv'd hitherto, and such I intend to live and die. And
“ after having fished for, and caught the publick liberty,
“ in that tempestuous sea wherein it had been immerged so
“ long, I'll return to my former condition ; reserving no-
“ thing to myself, but my hook and line, with which to
“ provide daily for the necessary support of the remainder
“ of my life. The only favour I shall desire of you, in
“ token of all my labours is, that when I am dead, you
“ will each of you say an Ave-Maria for me : do you pro-
“ mise me this ? the people answer'd, yes, but let it be an
“ hundred years hence. Mafaniello replied, my friends,
“ I thank you ; and as a further testimony of my love to
“ you, and my adherence to your interests, I will give you
“ two words of advice : the first is, not to lay down your
“ arms, till the confirmation of your privileges arrives
“ from Spain : the second, that above all things, you
“ would mistrust the nobility, who have always been our
“ sworn and professed enemies : take care of them, and
“ be upon your guard ; for, like hungry wolves, they'll
“ watch an opportunity, when you are defenceless, to fall
“ upon

" upon and devour you—I am now going to negotiate
" with the viceroy, and shall soon be with you again; at
" least, before to-morrow morning; but, if you do not
" see me then, you may set fire to the palace: " where-
upon they having all promised him they would do it; he
concluded his judicious harangue, with amplifying very
much upon " the advantages that would accrue to the
" king of Spain, by the abolishment of the taxes; which
" being prejudicial only to the partizans, those insatiable
" leeches, that had sucked the purest of the blood, his
" majesty should, for the time to come, enjoy his reve-
" nues entire, which, hitherto, used to be almost wholly
" absorb'd by his ministers."

This emphatical and farcistick speech being ended, and the archbishop having, at Mafaniello's request, given his blessing to the people, the general commanded them, under pain of dilobedience, to follow him no further; and then went into the palace with the archbishop, Genovino, Arpaja, and Mateo d'Amalphi his brother. His excellency, the viceroy, stood ready at the stairs-head to receive them. As soon as Mafaniello saw him, he threw himself at his feet, which having kissed, he thanked his excellency, in the name of all the people, for his gracious approbation of the treaty and then told him, he was come thither to receive whatsoever sentence his excellency should think fit to pass upon him. But the viceroy, raising him up and embracing him, answer'd, " that he was extreamely glad
" to see him, and so far from thinking he was criminal,
" that he would give him daily proofs of his favour and
" esteem. To this, Mafaniello replied, that God was his
" witness, that the only scope, and end of all his designs,
" was the service of the king and of his excellency :" after
which, the viceroy, the archbishop and Mafaniello, retired
all three, into a private apartment, in order to consult together upon the present posture of affairs.

During this conference, there happen'd an incident, which was a convincing proof to the Spaniards, how much the people esteemed Mafaniello, and how anxious they were for his safety. A great concourse of people, whom, the rumour of Mafaniello's visit, and the curiosity of seeing their general in his new and splendid equipage, had

drawn together from several parts, having resorted to the palace-yard, where they had staid a considerable time without seeing him appear, began to murmur, fearing that some mischance was befallen their chief, and that the viceroy had violated his faith to him, and caused him to be arrested, or perhaps murdered. The murmur increased; and the rabble grew at last so clamorous, that their noise reach'd the viceroy's ears, who being inform'd of the reason of it, to appease the tumult, immediatly shewed himself with his company in a balcony, from whence Mafaniello having assur'd the multitude, that he was safe and under no manner of restraint, they all cried out, long live the king of Spain, long live the duke of Arcos. The fisherman then told his excellency, he would presently give him a specimen of the Neapolitans obedience; and at the same time, putting his finger to his mouth, the rabble ceased their noise; a profound silence immediately followed; and among so great a multitude, there was scarce one of them seen to breathe: then, commanding upon pain of rebellion, that every soul there should retire, the court-yard was cleared, as it were in an instant, and not a man left upon the place,

The viceroy, having beheld with no small surprize, this kind of a miracle, renewed the conference with the archbishop and Mafaniello; wherein it was resolved, "that the capitulations, that had been signed by the viceroy, and the collateral council, and the council of state, should be forthwith printed, and that on the Saturday following, they should be again read publickly in the cathedral church. After which his excellency, the councils aforesaid, and all the officers and magistrates of the kingdom, should take a solemn oath to observe them inviolably for ever; as also, to obtain the ratification of them, as soon as possible, from his catholick majesty." The conference then broke up; and the viceroy having made many protestations of friendship and esteem to Mafaniello, and withal assured him, "that he was much beholding to him, for that by his strict severity, he had rid the city of so many ruffians and outlaws: he ended, by telling him, that as he highly approved his conduct hitherto, so now, he left the management of affairs

" affairs wholly to his care and wisdom." Whether these last words were seriously spoken by the viceroy, or only by way of compliment; 'tis certain, Masaniello interpreted them so much to his advantage, that from that moment to the last of his life, he acted, and in all respects govern'd, as if he had been king of Naples; settling, and deciding, by his own private authority, all matters civil and military. But the viceroy did not dismiss Masaniello, without conferring upon him some more substantial marks of his favour, than compliments and fair speeches only: for, he made him a present of a golden chain, which indeed he several times refused; but, at the archbishop's earnest entreaty at length accepted of it; he was at the same time, by his excellency, created duke of St. George. The viceroy accompanied this great honour, with many caresses, which probably were meant only to amuse Masaniello; who, after having kissed the viceroy's knee, and taken his leave, waited upon the archbishop to his palace; and from thence retired in his eminence's coach pretty late in the evening to his own house, attended by a numberless throng of people, who, by their acclamations, bonfires, and ringing of bells, gave publick demonstrations of their joy and gratitude.

July 12. The day following, Masaniello issued out a proclamation, whereby he declared, " That the office of " captain general, to which the people had promoted him, " had been confirmed to him by the viceroy :" and at the same time, causing another tribunal to be erected in Toledo-street, and furnished with all manner of instruments used in executions, he appointed a deputy to act there under him; and applied himself with as much ardour, and more authority than ever, to the exterminating the banditti, and the punishing of offenders, which he did with so much rigid justice, that among other examples of his severity, a baker who had made his bread some ounces lighter than the assize, was by him adjudged to be burnt alive in his own oven; and the sentence was executed accordingly.

The fisherman however was not so entirely taken up in pursuit of the outlaws, and other flagitious persons, but he revived, this morning, several bans and orders formerly published

published ; and exhibited many new ones, relating to the polity and civil government of the city. Among these was, " an order commanding all persons within an hour of night, to retire to their respective dwellings : an order, for tradesmen and shop-keepers to open their shops on the morrow, and follow their occupations as usual : an order, that strangers as well as natives, do put up the arms of the king of Spain on the right-hand of their gates, and those of the most faithful people on the left :" and whereas, since the beginning of the troubles, several noblemen, cavaliers and ladies had betaken themselves to divers convents, nunneries, and other religious houses, in order to avoid the fury of an ungovernable multitude ; another order was published by Masaniello, commanding them, forthwith to repair to their own houses. All these orders, (together with many more too tedious and too trifling to mention) being affixed to posts and publick buildings, and suscribed THOMAS ANIELLO d'Amalphi, head and captain-general of the most faithful people of Naples, were obeyed with strict exactnes, by persons of every rank and quality. And indeed, our fisherman, who knowing of what ill consequence it would be, to suffer the crime of disobedience to go unpunished, would never have pardon'd the least infringement of any of his commands : he was satisfied, that nothing was so requisite in carrying on his great design, as the exact obedience of the people, and therefore, from the beginning of the insurrection, he chiefly applied himself to form them to it ; and he wisely judged with Epaminondas, that the obedience of a soldier is the firmest basis and support of a general, whose arms, with this advantage, can seldom fail of success.

But, since I have mentioned the name of Epaminondas, I shall take the liberty to relate a memorable story of that great man, which, as it is pertinent to our subject, will not, I hope, be thought foreign to the purpose. This renowned general of the Thebans, being on the point of giving battle to the Greeks, was by the oracle advised to defer the engagement, because the stars portended an absolute defeat of his army, and on the other hand, promised a successful event to his enemies. But Epaminondas, whose wisdom equalled his courage, berought himself of

an ingenious stratagem, by which he advanced his glory in spite of the malignant influence of the stars. The stratagem was this : he writ in a pair of tablets, “ if you obey your leaders, the oracle declares you victorious ;” and in other tablets he writ, “ If you obey not your leaders the oracle denounces destruction ;” and then caused these oracles to be declared to his soldiers, who, finding that success and victory depended upon their obedience to their commander, with uncommon bravery forced the intrenchment of the enemy, and came off victorious.

While Masaniello was issuing out orders, hearing of complaints, receiving petitions, redressing grievances, and passing decrees, information was given by his agents, that they had taken a felucca with six mariners aboard, and four short coats compleatly armed, upon one of whom they had found a large pacquet of letters : that they had bound them, and came to know his pleasure, how they should dispose of the prisoners. The general ordered them to be brought before him ; which being accordingly done, and the letters opened, it appeared that they were sent from the duke of Mataloni to his secretary : but, nothing of their contents could be understood, because they were written in a mysterious and unintelligible cypher : Masaniello therefore commanded the short coats to be dragg'd to the rack, in hopes that torments might force them to a discovery. But whether they were ignorant of any design, or would not disclose what they knew, they suffer'd long the torture, and then had their heads taken off and fix'd upon poles, for an example to deter others from bringing messages from the declared enemies of the commonwealth. The six mariners were also strictly examined ; but their innocence appearing evidently by the ingenuity of their answers, they were acquitted and set at liberty.

Though nothing, as was before observed, could be learned from the intercepted letters, tending to the hurt or prejudice of the most faithful ; ople, yet did they very much increase Masaniello's diffidence ; and therefore to prevent the duke of Mataloni from putting in practice any project he might have on foot, appointed thirty thousand men more for the guard of the city and suburbs, and renew'd the order of the preceding day, to let none come

in or go out at the city gates without his special permission. Moreover, he detached several parties of armed men to go in search of the duke's servants, and of such other persons as were either related to him, or had any dependence upon him ; being fully resolved, to wreak his vengeance upon him in the persons of his friends or domesticks. Whereupon several of them being apprehended and brought before him, he caused them to be tortured, in order to make them reveal where the duke was, or where he had concealed his goods : among these, a slave of the duke's being taken as he was leading a couple of fine horses, in order to save his life, declared, that his Master's goods were hid in several monasteries which he named ; the heads of which, upon the general's summons, surrendered all the duke's rich moveables, computed to be worth above five hundred thousand crowns, besides four thousand crowns in specie. Mafaniello caused the said goods to be immediately conveyed to a magazine near the market place, and there laid up without any body's daring under pain of death, to carry off the least rag ; but the money he distributed among the centinels whom he had appointed for the defence of the city. And not contented with having deprived this nobleman of so many riches, he ordered his palace at Chiagia, which was a noble and magnificent structure, to be burnt ; in the execution of which order, the furious rabble happening to find his picture, after they had strangely mangled and disfigured it, presented it to Mafaniello, who hung it upon the same post to which the head and foot of don Pepe Caraffa were fastened, putting this inscription in large letters underneath :

**This is the DUKE of MATALONI,
REBEL to his MAJESTY,
And Traitor to the most faithful People.**

There was one thing very remarkable in this event, which by many was looked upon as a judgment of God, namely, that the post on which were suspended the head of Caraffa, and the effigies of the duke of Mataloni, were erected upon the very spot where the innocent and unfortunate

tunate prince of Sanza had, at the instigation of these two brothers, been beheaded, pursuant to the sentence passed upon him by the duke of Medina de las Torres, then viceroy of Naples.

While Masaniello was thus satiating his rage, not only upon the duke of Mataloni, but upon several other rich persons, whose houses were by his command either burnt or demolished, the viceroy who saw himself quite destitute of Provisions in Castelnovo, sent him a messenger to acquaint him with his necessities, and to desire him to send him some relief. Masaniello readily consented, and sent him fifty men heavy loaden with all sorts of provisions: and to shew himself still more complaisant to the Spaniards, he ordered great store of victuals, as well as a supply of money to be given to Doria the admiral, who, notwithstanding his repeated instances to Masaniello, could never obtain leave either for himself or any of his men to come ashore.

By this time, the fisherman of Amalphi grown insolent with success and power, expected observance from every body, even the prelates of the church; and therefore he sent a message to the viceroy, intimating that he wondered he had not seen cardinal Trivultio all this while. The cardinal, who had an apartment in the viceroy's palace, being advised by his excellency and the archbishop to visit Massaniello, who otherwise might be apt to take exception, and perhaps affront his lordship, went in his coach to the market-place, where he saluted the barefooted fisherman with the title of most illustrious; to which Masaniello replying, said this visit from your eminence, though indeed it be something of the latest, is nevertheless acceptable to me. The standers-by could scarce forbear laughing at his words; and some of them were even offended, to see a fellow extracted out of the dirt, assume as much state as if he had been the greatest prince in Christendom. His eminence, after a short visit, took his leave, and Masaniello ordered two files of musqueteers to conduct him to the castle, but, before he could well get there, several gentlemen came in the viceroy's name, to return Masaniello thanks for the refreshments he had sent him, and desired him to accept of divers presents which they brought from his excellency.

cellency. And soon after, he received another message from the vice-queen, who desired to know how he did, and also presented him with a rich suit of cloaths, which she pray'd him to wear for her sake.

July 13. D. Sab. The great day at length appeared, in which the inhabitants of Naples expected to see the publick tranquility fully restored and firmly established, by the solemn sanction of the capitulations; the ceremony of which, was appointed to be in the cathedral church. Mafaniello having spent all the morning in hearing causes, redressing grievances, and making several regulations relating to affairs both civil and military, the viceroy, immediately after dinner, sent him a pair of very fine horses very richly caparisoned, the one for himself, and the other for his brother, to appear with at the cavalcade. All things being in readiness, Mafaniello and his brother both dressed in cloth of silver tissue, moved slowly towards the castle, the former bearing a drawn sword in his hand, and the latter the articles of capitulation. Next after these came Julio Genovino and Ciccio Arpaja, the elect of the people; followed by a vast multitude of people, which thickned from street to street, by others that jointed them as they went along. Being arrived at the palace, Mafaniello met with a most courteous reception from the viceroy, and soon after came down again with his excellency, the collateral council the council of state, and all the principal officers and magistrates of the kingdom, who, in great pomp and order, went together to the cathedral. The archbishop, at the head of his chapter, stood ready at the church-door to receive them: and being entered and seated every one, according to his rank and degree of precedence, the capitulations were read aloud by Donnato Coppola secretary of the kingdom; after which the viceroy, the councils of state and war, the royal chamber of Santa Chiara, the tribunals of the chancery, and all the civil and criminal judges of the great court of the Vicaria, sworn upon the holy evangelists to observe them inviolably forever, and to procure without delay the ratification of them from his catholick majesty. During the reading of the articles, Mafaniello stood up all the while with his sword drawn in his hand, and was exceeding

ceeding busily in explaining some of them to the people, and enlarging very much upon others: but as soon as the oath had been administered, and *te deum* sung by an excellent chorus, he made an harangue, wherein he addressed himself sometimes to the viceroy, and sometimes to the multitude; confounding several good things with many senseless and impertinent ones, which the pride of having successfully brought about so great a design, made him utter with undaunted boldness and freedom of speech. Having finished his discourse, he began to tear in pieces the rich dress he had on, and desired the archbishop and the viceroy to help him off with it, saying, "that as he had only put it on for the honour of the ceremony, it was now become useless since that was ended; that, for his part, he had done all he had to do, and would now return to his hook and line," this proceeding seems to have been a prelude to the madness which shortly after possessed him. However, being made to understand, that it would be a very indecent thing to strip in the church, and in the presence of so many persons, he went out with the viceroy, who, with all the nobility and gentry that attended him, made a procession through all the publick streets in the city, and then returned to the castle, where he was saluted by several peals of ordnance. Mafaniello having taken leave of the viceroy, went back to his own house in the market-place, through all the acclamations and blessings that were given him by the people as the great restorer of their privileges.

July 14. Thus ended that happy day, which crown'd all Naples with joy, and put a new face upon the whole city, and next, Mafaniello, as the author of their great change, was congratulated, and received the compliments of several of the nobility and gentry, the ministers of state, and almost all the ecclesiasticks and religious orders of the city, who, from thence went to pay their respects also to the archbishop, and returned him thanks, for having by his ardent zeal and indefatigable pains, contributed very much to bring their troubles to so happy a period.

But Mafaniello, who from the seventh day of July to the Sunday following, had behaved himself with so much

wisdom and kingly authority, to the great surprize of every body, grew dilirious all on a sudden, evident marks of which first appeared, by the manner in which he treated the most illustrious Caraffelli, archbishop of Santa Severina. This prelate having occasion to repair to his archbishoprick, and there being an order still in force, which forbid any body to go out of the city, without a licence first obtained from Mafaniello, he went to his house in order to procure one, " what wouldst thou have, my fine lord, said the fisherman?" as soon as he saw him. " Your leave, replied his eminence, to go to my church in Calabria, whither my affairs call me." Upon which Mafaniello call'd out, " Who waits there? let four hundred men get ready instantly to accompany my lord as far as his bishoppick. Sir, says the archbishop, I do not go by land, but by sea; and, for that purpose, have provided four feluccas, to transport me and my family. Four feluccas, answered Mafaniello! you mean forty, my lord; at least I intend you shall have so many to attend you. Sir, reply'd the archbishop, I thank you, but four are sufficient as well as forty; more would not only be needless, but troublesome. Well, says Mafaniello, taking in his hand a bag full of double pistoles, as to that, your lordship may do as you please; but you shan't refuse this little present, which I desire you to accept of, 'twill defray the expence of your voyage. The prelate smil'd, and giving him many thanks, told him, he did not want them, nay, replied Mafaniello, did not I say I would not be refused? here, I command you, upon pain of my displeasure, to take them." The archbishop thinking it might not be safe to resist the caprice of a madman, was forced to compound, and at last accepted of five hundred of them: the fisherman then gave him a pass-port in writing, and having embraced him, wished him a good voyage. Much about the same time, a gentleman of Auversa coming to speak with him about some private concerns of his own, he dispatched him with a kick on the brach, saying, " be gone, I make thee prince of Auversa."

Many and various are the reflections that have been made upon this sudden madness of Mafaniello. Some were of opinion, that that stupendous height of power to which he arrived

arrived, as it were in an instant, made him giddy, and turned his brains. Others will have it to be occasioned by the prodigious and continual fatigues he underwent, scarce ever allowing himself time to take the natural refreshments of food or sleep. But the most prevailing and received opinion is, that the viceroy had given him an intoxicating draught, which by inflaming his blood, should make him commit such extravagances, as would oblige the people to despise and forsake him.

Without entering into a particular relation of all his follies and extravagancies, I shall only observe, that the Sunday immediately following the conclusion of the treaty, he got on horseback, and riding full speed through all the streets of Naples, he not only abused, maimed, and even killed several persons who had the misfortune to come in his way; but also caused several officers, for the most trivial offences, to be apprehended, and put instantly to death.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, he went to the palace, having a ragged coat on his back, only one stocking, and without either hat, sword, or band; and shewing himself in this equipage to the viceroy, he told him, "he was almost starv'd to death, and would fain eat something." Whereupon his excellency calling to his servants, and commanding something to be brought and set before the lord Masaniello, Amalphi reply'd, "that it was no matter, for he did not come then to eat, but to desire his excellency to accompany him as far as Posillipo, where they should take a collation together, having provided every thing necessary for that purpose;" and at the same time giving a signal, several mariners came in, loaden with all sorts of fruits and dainties. But the viceroy, who was not in an humour to drink with the crazy fisherman, excused himself on account of a pain in his head, with which, he said, he was that very moment taken; and ordering his own gondola to be made ready, Masaniello went aboard, and was attended by forty feluccas, which were filled with persons who tried all means possible to divert him; some of them dancing, some playing upon musical instruments, and others diving to pick up several pieces of gold which he threw into the sea.

This

This agreeable airing, instead of refreshing him, rather contributed to extinguish that small spark of reason that was left in him, and wholly deprived him of his senses. For, 'tis reported of him, that in going and coming, he drank no less than twelve bottles of a strong-bodied wine called Lachrimæ Christi, which so dried up his brain, that he was never after seen to act or speak rationally. In the mean while Mafaniello's wife went to visit the vice-queen, in a new coach, which the duke of Mataloni had bespoke for his wedding-day, and for which he was to pay eight thousand ducats: she was magnificently dress'd, and had about her a vast quantity of rich jewels, that had been presented to her by her excellency. The vice-queen gave her a very honourable reception; and having treated her in a most splendid manner and put upon her finger a ring of great value, she returned home very well pleased, with her husband's mother, and his two sisters, who had accompanied her in this visit.

Mafaniello being return'd late from Posillippo, he appear'd again the next day on horse-back, riding up and down the city like a devil broke loose, and striking and wounding with his drawn sword every body he met with: nor did his frenzy discover itself less by his words than by his actions: for sometimes, he talk'd of giving up the supreme command, and indeed he had actually sent a message to the duke of Arcos the day before to that effect; and at other times, he said, "he would take off the viceroy's head." He sent an order under pain of death and firing, to Don Ferrant and Don Carlos Caracciolo, two nobles, to come and kiss his feet publickly in the market-place, for not stepping out of their coaches to salute him, as they accidentally passed by him in the street.

The viceroy being inform'd at large of these horrid extravagancies, and fearing, that this madman, back'd by a mutinous rabble, might some time or other make him feel the effects of his frantick fury, he fortified himself once more in Castelnovo, by digging a deep trench all round it, and introduced as many soldiers as he could get together. But while he was employed in providing thus for his own defence, Don Ferrant and Don Carlos, instead of obeying the fisherman's insolent summons, came and presented themselves

themselves before the viceroy ; deplored the miserable and abject condition of the Neapolitan nobility, who, all on a sudden fallen from their ancient glory, now saw themselves trampled under feet, by a wretch that was sprung from the very dreggs of the rabble. As they were yet speaking, Genovino and Arpaja also came in, heavily complaining against Mafaniello, who, but a few hours before, had can'd one of them, and given a slap on the face to the other. They told the viceroy, that these strange and unreasonable proceedings had so terrified the civiller sort of people, and taken them off their affection from Mafaniello, that many of the chief citizens having by their advice met together, they came to a resolution of letting his excellency know, " that provided they could be well assured of never being molested in the enjoyment of the immunities and privileges restored, they would no longer follow Mafaniello, but instantly return to their former obedience and duty to his excellency." The viceroy, being glad to hear that the people were in the very disposition he could wish, immediately published a new ban, by which he re-confirmed the capitulations ; which was no sooner done, but a considerable number of citizens met in the piazza of St. Austin, where it was unanimously agreed, " that the office of head and captain-general of the people should be taken away from Mafaniello, and that he should be confin'd in a strong hold for the remainder of his days :" but nobody could find in his heart, to take away the life of him who had restor'd the publick liberty, and free'd his country.

But these resolutions were not powerful enough to remove the viceroy's fears ; and though he imagined he saw Mafaniello destitute of power, and fast bound in chains, yet, even in this light, he could not consider him without trembling : he therefore resolved not to reject the proposal that was made him by Michel Angelo Ardizzone, who offered to make away with him at the hazard of his own life, and the better to encourage him to put in execution this hardy undertaking, the viceroy promised him, among other things, a reward of ten thousand crowns.

In the mean time, Mafaniello, who had taken t'other jaunt to Posillippo, and being ignorant of what was intended against him, was now upon his return ; and being landed,

ed, began to do a thousand extravagant things: at last he leap'd with all his cloaths on into the sea; from whence soon after coming out again, and brandishing his sword a-lost, he ran full drive among the crowd that was standing upon the beach, who, fearing he should do some mischief, were obliged in their own defence to make sure of his person: and accordingly, having laid hold on him and bound him, they carried him to his own house, where they left him under a strong and sure guard.

Next morning being Tuesday, the 16th of July, Marco Vitale, a young man of great wit and vivacity, and chief secretary to Mafaniello, being got out of the castle, where, it seems, he had been, upon some pretence or other, detain'd all night, for fear he should dive into, and discover to his master, the secret designs that were carrying on against him; it happened, I say, that as he was going along, he met, not far from the palace, several companies of soldiers in arms; and insolently asking them, by whose authority they had taken up arms? one of the captains said, 'twas by order of the viceroy. 'Tis well, (replied Vitale very unseasonably) I am going directly to the market-place, and thy head shall pay for't. The captain answer'd this menace, no otherwise than by running his sword into the body of this unfortunate wretch, who, with this wound, and a pistol-shot that succeeded it, fell down dead upon the spot.

The viceroy fearing, that if this accident should come to the knowledge of Mafaniello, he might get the start of him and keep upon his guard, he urged the conspirators to hasten his death. But, this poor lunatick, having a little before made his escape out of custody, went into the church of our lady of Carmine, whose festival being this day to be celebrated, was fill'd with a vast number of persons who came there to perform their devotions, and waited for the archbishop's coming to sing mass. As soon as he appear'd, Mafaniello went up to him, and told him, " that he plainly perceived the people had abandoned him, and now went about to take away his life; that since he must die, he desired that the viceroy, and all the tribunals of Naples, would first make a solemn procession to the most holy

" holy mother of Carmine, his patroness, and that afterwards death would be welcome to him ;" and at the same time, putting a letter into the hands of the archbishop, he desired his eminence to send some-body with it to the viceroy. The archbishop having kindly embraced him, and very much commended him for his religious zeal, immediately dispatched one of his gentlemen with the letter to the palace ; and then coming up to the altar, he put himself in a posture to begin the service, when Mafaniello going into the pulpit, and holding out a crucifix in his hand, directed himself to the people, and earnestly besought them not to forsake him ; putting them in mind of " the dangers and the toils which he had encountered and undergone for their sake ; the great deliverance he had wrought for them ; and lastly, the rich and inestimable benefits which he had procured them, and they had so lately seen confirmed in this church." But the vehemency of his discourse, throwing him into one of his raving fits ; he began to condemn himself for the badness of his past life, and exhorted " every one to make the like confession to their ghostly father, that God's anger might thereby be appeased :" from these, he ran into several other extravagant and ridiculous expressions, some of which favouring of heresy, the archbishop was obliged to use the assistance of some of the attendants to get him out of the pulpit. As soon as he was come down, he went to the altar, and throwing himself at the archbishop's feet, he entreated his eminence " to depute his chaplain to the viceroy, to assure him, that he was ready to resign his office and authority to his excellency." The archbishop promised he would do it ; and seeing he was all in a sweat, occasioned by the violent agitation of his spirits, he commanded some of the religious to take him to their dormer, to have him dried, and to let him refresh himself with a little sleep.

Scarce was this order executed, and the archbishop gone out of the church, when the assassins, who had conspired the death of Mafaniello, came into it, and from thence passed to the cloyster, crying out, long live the king of Spain, and let none from henceforth upon pain of death obey Mafaniello. Tho' the conspirators were but very

few in number, yet, the people did not oppose them, but on the contrary, making way for them, they went strait to the convent, searching and enquiring every where for Mafaniello. This unhappy man, hearing some-body call Mafaniello, runs out to meet his murderers, saying, " is " it me you look for, my people? behold, I am here ;" but all the answer he had, was from four musquets that were fired upon him all at one time, by Salvatore Cataneo, Carlos Cataneo, Angelo Ardizone, and Andrea Rama. He instantly dropp'd down upon the place, and having but just time enough to cry out, " ah ! ungrateful traytors," he breathed his last. Salvatore Cataneo then cut off his head, and fixing it on the top of a spear, he and his accomplices carried it directly to the viceroy, crying out all the way, as they went along, Mafaniello is dead ; Mafaniello is dead : let the king of Spain live, and let no-body presume hereafter to name Mafaniello. This bold action so daunted the rabble, who, to the number of about eight or ten thousand, were then in the church or in the market-place, that they were so far from avenging the death of their captain-general by that of his murderers, that they seem'd stupified and motionless ; and in this occurrence, gave a memorable instance of the inconstancy of the populace, whose love may be justly compared to a broken reed, which, whoever leans upon, is sure of falling. In short, this same people who, from the first commencement of the insurrection, had loved Mafaniello even to adoration, calmly saw him murdered, and without murmuring suffered his head to be taken off, and afterwards thrown into a ditch call'd the corn-ditch by his homicides; whilst his hody, at the instigation of his enemies, was, as he himself had foretold it, dragg'd thro' all the kennels of Naples by a company of black-guards, who, when they were tired with hauling it about, cast it into another town-ditch, that lies without Porta Nolana.

It would be difficult to describe the transports of the nobility and gentry upon this occasion. They, who dared not shew their heads, or stir abroad during the commotions, came now in sholes, as one may say, to congratulate the viceroy upon this happy period and the death of Mafaniello. After which his excellency, accompanied by the archbishop,

archbishop, and the chief officers and magistrates of the kingdom, went with great solemnity to the church of Carmine, to return God thanks and the most glorious patron of Naples St. Gennaro, whose sacred head and blood were taken out and exposed to publick view. This act of devotion being performed, his excellency the viceroy shewed himself in the market-place, where he caused the confirmation of the articles sworn to the Saturday before, to be proclaim'd by sound of trumpet; and then returned to his palace, with the universal acclamations of that very rabble, who, but a few days before, had pulled him by the whiskers, and offered him all manner of indignities.

Thus rose and fell Mafaniello of Amalphi, the dread of the Spaniards, the avenger of publick oppressions, and the favour of his desolate country. All antiquity cannot furnish us with such another example as his; and after-ages will hardly believe what height of power this mongrel sovereign arrived to, who, trampling bare-foot on a throne, and wearing a mariner's cap instead of a diadem, in the space of four days, raised an army of above 150,000 men, and made himself master of one of the most populous cities in the world; of Naples, the metropolis of so many fair provinces, and at once the mother and the nurse of so many illustrious princes, and renowned heroes. And as if fortune, that capricious jilt, had taken delight in raising a fisherman above the greatest monarch, she not only submitted to his empire, that innumerable rabble that always followed him, but even that ancient and generous Neapolitan nobility itself, whose glorious achievements had filled the whole universe with their fame. In short, it may be averred without excess, that neither the most formidable tyrant, nor the prince the most beloved, were ever so much dreaded, or so quickly obeyed as Mafaniello was, during his short but stupendous reign. His orders were without reply; his decrees without appeal; and the destiny of all Naples, might be said to depend upon a single motion of his hand.

Those who have most curiously enquired into this great and sudden revolution of which he was the author, have for the most part look'd upon it as a pure and immediate effect of God's judgments, who, to chastise the avarice,

the pride and the barbarity of the Spanish ministers, which were then at their highest pitch, singled out the arm of the this poor fisherman to execute his anger. Nor is this opinion without foundation, for if we examine the actions and accidents of Mafaniello's life, we shall find them too wonderful, not to have been in a peculiar manner directed by the hand of providence. A report goes that whilst he was yet in the cradle, two capuchins accidentally calling in at his mother's house, one of them took him into his arms, and having look'd very steadfastly upon him for some time, he told her, " that that child should one day come " to be the master of Naples, but that his government " would have but a very short duration." We have already taken notice of his own prophecies, relating to his death, together with the cause, time, and manner of it. But, what will raise our admiration most of all is, that he, who had never had any education, and who had always failed among those of his acquaintance for a mere natural, was all on a sudden seen to act and speak, as if he had been always conversant in politicks and the management of publick affairs. And indeed it is matter of admiration, with how much wisdom he made, and maintain'd in the very heat of the commotions, the most useful orders and regulations that the wisest legislators and the most experienced generals could ever be capable of; with what art and address he insinuated himself into the hearts of so many thousands of men, by far his superiors, encouraging the fearful, extolling the bold, reproaching the coward, and most pathetically describing to all, the miserable state of their country, groaning under the heavy exactions of proud and avaritious ministers, and animating them to revenge and redress themselves! Cardinal Filomarino himself, has acknowledged, that in the several conferences he had with him with respect to the treaty of accommodation, he had often been amazed at the solidity of his judgment, and the subtlety of his contrivances. In short, if we do but reflect upon the greatness of that enterprize which he projected, and executed for the good of his country: that indefatigable assiduity, with which he applied himself to it, which robbed him of the hours of nourishment and repose, and made him dictate to seven secretaries all at one

time



time, as some authors report : that just severity, which obliging him to put so many persons to death, never exerted itself on any whose crimes had not deserved it : but, above all, that noble and generous disinterestedness, which kept him poor in the midst of such vast heaps of wealth ; and we shall be apt to conclude with a certain Neapolitan gentleman, " that Masaniello seems to have been endowed " with no other qualifications, but such as were necessary " for the execution of the divine vengeance."

As to the duke of Arcos, whether he acted with prudence or no, in causing Masaniello to be put to death, is hard to determine at this distance, however, I think it may be justly doubted, whether the death of Masaniello was not more to the prejudice than the benefit of Spain. For altho' it may be alledged, that the sedition which he first promoted, did in appearance tend to the hurt of the state, and the weakening of the sovereign authority, yet it is certain, he was so far from endeavouring to estrange the peoples affections and allegiance from Philip the IV, who reigned at that time, that, on the contrary, he always professed the greatest respect and veneration for him : for, besides making the people often cry out, long live the king of Spain, and commanding them to put his majesty's arms over their doors ; his receding from that proposition whereby the castle of Saint Elmo was to be delivered into his hands, as a security for the performance of the conditions of peace, is an undeniable proof of his loyalty. Besides, the very commotions which he raised in Naples, may be said to have been in some manner advantageous to the Spaniards ; since they contributed very much to the extirpation of the outlaws and other publick nuisances, and at the same time, fully revenged them on the nobility, by the cruel rage with which the rabble pursued them. Lastly, the abolition of the taxes seems to have been in a great measure beneficial to his catholick majesty, whose domain and other revenues scarce amounting to a million of gold yearly, was now on the point of receiving five million all at once, by means of a donative which Masaniello had resolved to present him with, and which he would certainly have accomplished, having already levied considerable sums to that

that end) if the suddenness of his death had not prevented it.

But it is not just, that these Reflections should make us leave the head and the Body of Masaniello so long unburied and asunder ; and after having exposed the ingratitude of the People, in forsaking their great deliverer, it is but reasonable, that we should also take some notice of the sorrow and repentance which they expressed for it, by the pompous obsequies with which they honoured his funeral. *July 17.* The day immediately following that of his death, several children, at the persuasion of some persons who told them, it was a shame that the corpse of him who had done so much for the good of his country, should be thus exposed to the dogs, went and fetched his body, and after they had washed and cleaned it well, carried it on a bier to the cathedral church of Carmine. At the same time, a young man living in the market-place, called Jeronymo Donneruma went with a company of men all armed to look for his head in the corn ditch ; and having found it, he brought it along with him to the same place where the body was, in order to have them buried together. This being done, it was resolved in a general assembly of the people, who were gathered together on this occasion, that Masaniello deserved to receive the greatest honours, as head and captain general of Naples ; and accordingly, his corpse, preceded by five hundred priests and religious, and followed by forty thousand men up in arms, and almost as many women with beads in their hands, was carried through several of the most publick streets of the city, with all the solemnities that are commonly used at the funeral of a martial commander. As they passed by the palace of the viceroy, his excellency, to conform to the times, sent eight of his pages with torches in their hands, to accompany the corpse, and at the same time, ordered the Spaniards who were then upon guard, to lower their ensigns and salute the body, as it was carried by. It was at last brought back again to the cathedral church, and there buried ; whilst all the bells in Naples rung a mournful peal, and amidst the tears and lamentations of an infinite multitude of women, who shewed so much respect and veneration to his dust, that one may say, that by the effect of a popular inconstancy

constancy which is not to be equalled, Mafaniello in less than three days, was obeyed like a monarch, murdered like a villain, and rever'd like a saint.

Thus have I traced the history of the Neapolitans from the first origin of their civil contentions and sufferings, under a ravenous and over-bearing ministry, to the first period of tyranny and oppression among them; that is to say, to their being restored to the full possession of their rights and privileges by the fisherman-hero. Happy had it been for them, had they never been molested in the enjoyment of them, and the publick faith always remained inviolate! but alas! they were soon made sensible by a fatal experience, that the most sacred, and most religious oaths and covenants, are not strong enough to bind princes, nor their ministers to act contrary to their views of interest and ambition, as will evidently appear by what follows. Not many days after Mafaniello's death, the viceroy made Julio Genovino president of one of the courts of justice, and gave him besides, several other publick marks of his favour and esteem. The people were surprized at it; and they could not conceive what it was, that should induce the viceroy to give such extraordinary domonstrations of favour, to a man, who had, with the greatest warmth, so lately espoused the interest of the Neapolitans, and upon all occasions had in a particular manner, manifested his enmity to the Spaniards: this was a mystery to them, and they were at los to unriddle it. But it was not long before they were undeceived, by the publication of the printed treaty. They observed, that the fourteenth article in it, contain'd a salvo, which had not been read to them in the cathedral-church, and which indeed, made the treaty void and of no effect. The purport of it is as follows. " That all taxes and imports 'till then " imposed and exacted, should be abrogated and annulled " for ever; such of them only EXCEPTED, as were " alienated to private or particular persons, which should " always subsist, any thing in this treaty mentioned to the " contrary, notwithstanding." Now, there being no tax in the kingdom, but what was alienated, all the taxes consequently remained still in force; and this treaty, that was concluded with so much solemnity, and afterwards confirmed

firmed by so many oaths, was only a politick fetch, to lull the people asleep, till the ministry should find a fit opportunity to replunge them into a state of slavery and subjection. But all crimes are not successful alike ; and the allwise providence of heaven would not suffer so notorious a violation of the publick faith, sworn, and pledg'd upon the altars, to go unpunished. Those who had first discover'd the fraud, immediately communicate it to their neighbours. These again divulge it to the people. In an instant, the whole city is alarm'd. Multitudes of people flock together in haste to the market-place, as is usual in cases of publick danger. They plainly perceive now, the reason of Genovino's new preferment, and they conclude, " that he has sold them to the ministry." On a sudden, they give a loose to their rage and indignation ; they fly to their arms ; and in the first heat of their furious resentment, they utter a thousand dreadful imprecations against the government, in whom they could no longer confide. This was the beginning of a civil war, that in the end proved fatal to the Spaniards. The authors of it, unimproved by so recent an example of what an injured and exasperated people can do in their own defence, and the defence of their liberty, soon saw themselves and their country involved in all the calamities and horrors that attend intestine feuds and dissensions. And some of them, by meeting with a more hasty and exemplary punishment, have left behind them, an everlasting monument of the wrath of heaven against perjur'd and avaritious ministers.

F I N I S.



